

FRANCISCAN STUDIES

No. 18

JULY, 1936

THE MARTYRS OF FLORIDA (1513-1616)

BY

LUÍS GERÓNIMO DE ORÉ, O. F. M.

Translated, with Biographical Introduction
and Notes

BY

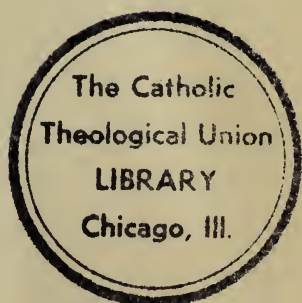
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THE MARTYRS OF FLORIDA

BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré, O. F. M., the author of the *Relación de los mártires que ha habido en las Provincias de la Florida*, is according to Means, "one of the least known and least often cited chroniclers of Peru."¹ It might be added that anent Oré's *Relación*, there are few writers concerning whom so many chaotic bibliographical references have been made both in Spanish and English. If the present translation, here offered for the first time in English, serves the humble purpose of dispelling this chaos, the labor entailed in its preparation will not have been in vain. On the other hand, the *Relación*, though relatively short, will be a means of making better known an illustrious and learned missionary who in his day was an international figure.

Father Oré was born at Guamanga, Peru, in the year 1554.² Don Antonio de Oré and Luísa Díaz y Rojas reared seven children, four boys and three girls. Luís Gerónimo was the third of the boys. He and his three brothers entered the Franciscan Order and were ordained to the priesthood. All were members of the Province of the Twelve Apostles in Peru. Father Oré's three brothers were known as Fray Pedro de Oré, Fray Antonio de Oré and Fray Dionisio de Oré. The three girls became Poor Clares in their native city, Guamanga, where Antonio de Oré was instrumental in establishing a convent of that Order.

Joined to their ability in rendering plain chant and in playing the organ, the four brothers became indefatigable missionaries among the Indians and approved preachers for the Spaniards. Fray Luis Gerónimo was destined to become the most famous of the brothers by reason of his several scholarly writings. Among his many offices may be mentioned those of preacher at Lima, Cuzco, Trujillo, Guánuco, and Arequipa; parish priest at Collaguas and Santiago de

Coparaque; guardian at Valle de Juaja; guardian at Potosí; professor of Indian languages at Lima. The bishop of Cuzco, Don Antonio de la Raya, made Father Oré pastor of an Indian parish in that city. So great an impression did the friar make on the bishop by his eloquence and his skill in the native languages, that the latter requested the pope and the king to make Father Oré co-adjutor of Cuzco. No action, however, was taken on the bishop's request. One is not surprised to learn that the highest office of the province was conferred upon Father Oré in the form of the provincialate.

In 1598, Father Oré published at Lima, his *Symbolo Cathólico Indiano* which contained an explanation of the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds. This work also included a description of the new world, together with a practical medium for teaching Christian doctrine in the Quechua and Aymará languages³. In offering this work to his fellow-priests in Peru, Father Oré was conscious of its utility for the conversion and instruction of multitudes of aborigines. He considered himself a pathfinder in that particular field of religious writing in the native languages and humbly asked his readers to overlook whatever errors they might find in the volume prepared after much labor and study.

Fray Gerónimo de Valenzuela, Dominican prior of Parina Cocha, wrote a dedicatory sonnet for the *Symbolo* wherein he evaluates the work of the Franciscan linguist:

... Y si saber quisieres el camino
Deste plácido, ameno é empírico puerto
Aunque no tengas guía ni piloto,
Fray Luis Hierónimo de Oré ques digno
De escelsa loa, te lo muestra abierto
En tu lenguaje con su libro docto.⁴

With the publication of this volume, Father Oré did not rest on his laurels. He had other projects in mind but because financial means were lacking, he was hindered from having other works printed. In 1599, Fray Fernando de Trejo, Franciscan bishop of Tucumán wrote to the king of Spain that

Father Oré was going to that country in order to have some of his books published. On this same occasion the bishop praised the efforts of the zealous missionary who had preached throughout the entire kingdom.⁵

In 1604 the bishop of Cuzco approved of another work of Father Oré, entitled *Rituale seu Manuale Peruanum*. This ritual or manual contained prayers in the Quechua, Aymará, Puquina, Mochica, Guaraní, and Brazilian tongues. It was printed in Naples in 1607. This work is sometimes referred to as *Manual de administrar los Sacramentos*. Two other works in Indian by Father Oré are: *Arte y Vocabulario en las dos lenguas quichua y aimará*, and *Sermonario de las dominicas y fiestas del año en las dos lenguas quichua y aimará*.⁶

It was probably in the year 1605 that Father Oré travelled to Spain. Thence he went to Italy. At Alexandria, in 1606, he published his *Tratado sobre las indulgencias*. According to Medina who cites the Franciscan chronicler Córdova y Salinas, Father Oré wrote the book in Latin while in the city of Rome.⁷ In the following year, his *Rituale*, already mentioned, appeared at Naples. It is quite understandable that Father Oré became interested in publishing a life of St. Francis Solano, the great Franciscan apostle of Peru and Tucumán. In Spain he had ample opportunity for gathering the necessary documents. This work appeared under the title: *Relación de la vida y milagros del venerable padre Fray Francisco Solano*, sometime between 1614 and 1619. Another work of Father Oré dealt with the Rosary, entitled: *Corona de la Sacratísima Virgen María*. It appeared at Madrid, in 1619.⁸

The chief work of this Peruvian missionary in which the interest of this treatise centers is the *Relación de los mártires que ha habido en las Provincias de la Florida*.⁹ As mentioned before, none of the great bibliographers of Hispanic-America or of other countries have offered any reliable evidence as to the year of its publication. The *Relación* of Father Oré has received prominent mention by bibliographers and historians, but owing to its scarcity, few if any were able to obtain copies of it for personal perusal and citations.

Barcía,¹⁰ writes that the *Relación*: "se imprimió en Quarto el Año de 1604." Ruidíaz y Caravia¹¹ gives the year of publication as 1605. Pinelo¹² cites the years 1605 and 1612 (Lima) referring obviously to two editions. Beristain de Souza¹³ merely states that the *Relación* was published various times. Streit¹⁴ offers the tentative date of 1612. The great Medina offers a lengthy discourse in support of his opinion that the *Relación* most probably was not published before the year 1612. "La indicación del año de la publicacion de esta obra estamos muy distantes de mirarla como segura."¹⁵

These various errors with regard to the date of publication of the *Relación* are understandable enough when one considers the rarity of the work. It appears, likewise that no date was attached to the original printed edition. A norm for forming a judgment as to the date of publication is afforded by the contents of the *Relación* itself. Most of the outstanding bibliographers were under the impression that Father Oré was never in Florida. This is stated as probable by Medina.¹⁶ Streit declares: "aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach, war er selbst nicht in Florida gewesen."¹⁷ Means, who is a specialist on Andean history offers the following comments: "In 1604 he [Oré] had published a *Relación de los mártires que ha habido en la Florida*, a work of some interest for that part of American history. The fact that he, a Peruvian born, wrote about Florida puts him in the same class as the Inca Garcilaso, . . . with whom, at Córdoba in 1612, he had friendly and sympathetic contact."¹⁸ If this were so, the *Relación* of Oré would have only a relatively mediocre value, owing to the supposed fact that Oré described a country he had never visited.

Internal criticism of the *Relación* proves that the work could not have been printed before the year 1617, for it ends with an account of the second visitation of Father Oré to Florida in November and December of the year 1616. This then represents the *terminus a quo*. The *Relación* discloses that Fray Francisco Pareja was elected provincial of Florida in December, 1616. In the same *Relación*, Father Oré states that at the

time he was writing it, Father Pareja was still provincial. In view of the fact that Father Oré left Spain in 1620 as bishop of Concepción, Chile, where he was busily occupied in administrative affairs till his death in 1629, in all likelihood, the *Relación* was published in Spain between the years 1617 and 1620. This would also coincide with the provincialship of Father Pareja. Fray Atanasio López, O. F. M., of Santiago de Compostella, Spain, who edited the modern edition of the *Relación* from which this translation was made, declared to the translator that the *Relación* was not published prior to 1617, but he was not able to offer any clue as to the exact year of the seventeenth century publication.¹⁹

There remain for consideration the labors of Father Oré from 1612 to 1629. In 1612 Father Oré while in Spain received a commission from Fray Antonio de Trejo, commissary-general of the Indies, to recruit a number of friars for the growing mission field of Florida. With his usual energy, Father Oré gathered twenty-one friars from the Province of Concepción, and accompanied them as far as Seville. These friars journeyed to Florida under the leadership of Fray Lorenzo Martínez. An interesting event occurred during that year. At Córdoba, Father Oré visited his renowned countryman, Garcilaso de la Vega. The friar asked the Inca for some copies of his history of Florida so that the new missionaries could acquaint themselves with the customs of the natives to whom they were about to minister. The Inca graciously acceded to the friar's request and gave him several copies of *La Florida del Inca* together with several books of the *Commentarios Reales* dealing with Peru. This meeting is not recorded by Father Oré but by the Inca in the last-mentioned work.²⁰ The Inca stated, likewise that at the time Father Oré was uncertain as to whether he was going to accompany the friars to Florida as commissary or remain in Spain. As a matter of fact he remained in Spain.

In 1614, however, Fray Juan de Vivanco, commissary-general of the Indies, ordered Father Oré to go to Florida and Cuba and make a visitation of the Province of Santa Elena.

Father Oré complied with this order and during the same year visited the friars laboring in the territories now known as Cuba, Florida and Georgia. On this occasion he gathered much valuable information in the form of written statements, on the progress of the Indian missions. Several of these sworn testimonies, Father Oré included bodily in his *Relación*. After his visitation to the mainland, Father Oré returned to Cuba.

Two years later the minister-general of the Order, directed Father Oré to proceed to Florida once more in order to hold another visitation and to conduct the canonical elections. On this occasion, the bishop of Cuba, Fray Alonso Henríquez de Toledo, authorized Father Oré to visit Florida in the capacity of episcopal delegate as well. Clothed with this twofold authority, Father Oré sailed for Florida and arrived at St. Augustine on November 16, 1616. For the next two months, he was busily engaged in visiting all the Indian missions of the province, conducting the visitation with apostolic zeal as well as with becoming prudence. He has left us an interesting itinerary of his visitation which forms the final chapter of the *Relación*.

In all probability, Father Oré left the West Indies for Spain in the year 1617. There in 1619 he published his Life of St. Francis Solano and the work on the Rosary already mentioned. On August 17, 1620 as a crowning reward for his many useful labors Philip III, appointed him bishop of Concepción, in Chile. Father Oré received episcopal consecration in Spain and set out for his new field of labor. On his way to Chile, he travelled through Peru visiting the scenes of his early labors as well as his friends and kinsfolk. In 1622 he took possession of his cathedral in Concepción.²¹

Without losing much time, Father Oré determined to journey to the Chiloé Indians for none of his episcopal predecessors had ever visited that Indian territory. For an entire year, the missionary-bishop travelled from island to island by canoe, attempting to bring the Indians of Chiloé into closer relations with the Church. However, he found that his new field of

labor was less promising in spiritual returns than his native Peru. This fact, however, did not dampen his ardor. Returning to the mainland, Bishop Oré visited his parishes to the north. Philip IV consulted him as to the best manner of subjecting the militaristic Araucanians to Spain. He answered the practical solution of the difficulty lay in withdrawing the Spanish troops from the territory and sending in their place missionaries, who would effect a spiritual and peaceful conquest.

Despite Bishop Oré's reputation for learning and sanctity, complaints reached Madrid, that he did not exercise the necessary caution in ordaining to the priesthood, men with the requisite qualities. His conduct probably, was guided by his zeal in desiring large conversions for the present, overlooking the evil results that in all probability would accrue to the Church at a later period by unfit or unworthy men exercising the ministry of the priesthood. The king took cognizance of the complaint and addressed a *cédula* to Bishop Oré, ordering him to desist from his imprudent actions in that matter.²² The *cédula*, arrived too late, however, to come into the hands of Bishop Oré, for he died on January 31, 1629.

The *Relación* of Father Oré, though containing much valuable information, is of unequal value in its parts. As a matter of fact the first part of the work where Father Oré treats of the early conquests of Florida prior to 1565 is quite sketchy and contains a number of errors. The intrinsic value of the *Relación* lies in the details concerning the missionary work of the friars during the early days, especially from 1595 to 1616. Therein is contained a veritable mine of information, some of which is obtainable from no other source. Father Oré has left us brief biographical sketches of the friars who went to Florida in 1587 and in 1595. Besides a detailed account of the Guale Revolt and the captivity of Father Avila, Father Oré included accounts of his two formal visitations, thus speaking with the authority of an eye-witness of the events he described.

The perusal of the *Relación* shows Father Oré to have been a man of careful inquiry and observation. Though he did

not witness the Guale Revolt, he was a contemporary of it, and was in intimate connection with persons who gave reliable information concerning it. The general tenor of his work shows the means he employed in obtaining his information. For his account of the martyrdom of the friars in 1597, he used the *Relación* of Fray Francisco Marrón who was the Franciscan superior at St. Augustine at the time of the outbreak. For his account of the captivity of Father Avila, he used the latter's own description of it, which was preserved in the archives of Havana. In fact, he gives most of Avila's *Relación* verbatim. The same holds good for the testimonies of Fathers Pareja and Prieto given to him in 1614. On a number of occasions, Father Oré is careful to distinguish what he knew from documents or interviews and what he had from hearsay. His account of his second visitation to Florida in 1616 is most valuable, for he traversed the whole mission area of Florida and Georgia on foot or by means of a canoe.

In its own unpretentious way, the *Relación* of Father Oré takes its place among the many Narratives and Histories of the early history of Florida, occasioned by the various military exploits and religious crusades made by the Spaniards in that region. For Franciscan history of the colonial period, the *Relación* adds another interesting chapter to that far-flung spiritual battle line of the Franciscan friars, which at one time or another stretched from Santa Elena on the Atlantic to San Francisco on the Pacific in that area of the United States known as the Spanish borderlands.

The aim of the translator has been to preserve carefully the sense of the Spanish text in preference to felicity of expression in English. Father Oré proves to be very cryptic at times in narrating events, and to overcome the resulting obscurity or incompleteness, copious notes have been added. Interminable Spanish sentences have been broken up into their component parts. While the Spanish text has captions throughout indicating chapters, chapter numbers have been added in the translation.

O. F. M., for permission to translate the *Relación* into English. O. F. M., for permission to translate the *Relación* in English. He is grateful to Dr. David Rubio, O. S. A., and in particular to Dr. F. B. Steck, O. F. M., both of the Catholic University, for their many hours of unselfish labor expended in comparing the Spanish and English texts as well as for the valuable suggestions given. To Dr. J. A. Robertson, archivist of the State of Maryland and curator of the Spanish documents of the Florida State Historical Society, as well as to Dr. J. T. Lanning of Duke University, the translator is indebted for the use of their extensive documentary material, needed for the elucidation of the text, in the critical notes. Finally the translator wishes to thank the Franciscan Educational Conference for bringing this work of Father Oré to the attention of the American public.

Maynard Geiger, O. F. M.

The Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.
May 4, 1936

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

¹Philip A. Means, *Biblioteca Andina* (New Haven, 1928), p. 423.

²Most of the facts relative to the life of Father Oré were obtained from José Toribio Medina, *Diccionario Biográfico Colonial de Chile* (Santiago de Chile, MDCMVI), pp. 612-615, and José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, (1523-1817) (Santiago de Chile, 1897), I, *passim*, especially 127-132.

³Quechua was spoken in the area of Lima while Aymará was the language of the Indians farther south. According to linguists, these are not only two distinct languages but they belong to two different linguistic families.

⁴Cited from Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 86. The author of the dedicatory sonnet called upon the Peruvian Indians to arise from the sleep of paganism and in the light of the Christian faith to sail over a tranquil sea to eternity.

The translation of the final words of the sonnet is as follows: "And if you should desire to know the way to this placid, pleasing, and empiric port; even if you have neither guide nor pilot, Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré, who is worthy of great praise, will show it to you clearly in your own language by means of his learned book." The use of the adjective empiric refers to the necessity of the Indians finding the desired haven through repeated efforts coupled with the knowledge gained by experience.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 105.

⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 101-103.

⁷*Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁹The modern edition of the *Relación* of Father Oré was published in 1931 at Madrid by Fray Atanasio López, O. F. M., under the title: *Relación histórica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII*, Vol. I.

¹⁰*Ensayo cronológico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 181.

¹¹*La Florida su conquista y colonización por Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (Madrid, 1893), II, p. 733.

¹²*Epítome*, (Madrid, 1737), II, c. 619.

¹³*Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional* (2 edit., Mexico, 1883), II, 359.

¹⁴*Biblioteca Missionum* (Aachen, 1924), II, 394.

¹⁵Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 114.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁷*Biblioteca Missionum*, II, 395.

¹⁸*Biblioteca Andina*, p. 424.

¹⁹Letter of Fray Atanasio López to the translator, Santiago de Compostella, May 14, 1935.

²⁰*Commentarios Reales* (Madrid, 1723), p. 460.

²¹Medina, *Biblioteca Hispano-Chilena*, I, 129-130.

²²Medina, *Diccionario Biográfico Colonial de Chile*, p. 615.

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AN ACCOUNT OF THE MARTYRS OF THE PROVINCES OF FLORIDA: TWELVE RELIGIOUS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, WHO SUFFERED IN JACAN, AND FIVE OF THE ORDER OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAINT FRANCIS, IN THE PROVINCE OF GUALE. OFFERED ALSO, IS A DESCRIPTION OF JACAN WHERE THE ENGLISH HAVE FORTIFIED THEMSELVES; AND OF OTHER MATTERS RELATIVE TO THE CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS.

Written by Father Luís Hierónimo de Oré, Lector of Theology and Commissary of the Province of Santa Elena of Florida and the Island of Cuba.

I

In the year 1513,¹ before any other Spaniard, Juan Ponce de León who was of knightly rank, and a native of the city of León,² and who had been governor of the island of San Juan de Puerto Rico, discovered the coast and mainland of the kingdom of Florida. Because he discovered it on Easter Sunday (which fell on the 27th of March) he bestowed the name Florida upon it, for among Spaniards this most solemn day is called *Pascua Florida*. He found it lying north of the island of Cuba. He was satisfied with having discovered it, just as in other regions others were engaged in the discovery of various islands and countries.³

Such was the case of the island of Madeira, discovered by the Infante Don Enrique,⁴ son of the King of Portugal. A learned man and an accomplished mathematician, the Infante due to his studious enterprises succeeded in reaching still other lands. At his own expense he caused maritime enterprises to be undertaken from Portugal to Madeira and other islands of that region, where, pious prince that he was, he had the faith of Christ preached, about the year 1490.⁵

It was he who awakened the desires of Christopher Columbus, who two years afterwards⁶ set out from Spain, sent by the Catholic Kings. He discovered Hispaniola, called Fernandina,⁷ and peopled the city of Santo Domingo,⁸ a rich port. The other islands: Cuba, Jamaica, and all those of Barlovento⁹ were discovered, then conquered and settled by Spaniards. Before the arrival of the Spaniards, they were inhabited by innumerable Indians, who, in all parts of these islands, have dwindled and died.¹⁰

Juan Ponce de León returned some years afterwards¹¹ to Florida by virtue of the favor which the Catholic Kings granted him to govern and conquer it. When he landed, the Indians resisted him and struggled valorously against him until

they routed him and killed nearly all his soldiers. Only seven escaped, among whom was Juan Ponce.¹²

After this a pilot named Miruelo,¹³ the owner of a caravel, reached Florida owing to a storm which took him thither. However, he neglected to survey the land and take the latitude, which he should have done by reason of his office.

At the same time,¹⁴ Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, *oidor*¹⁵ of the Royal *Audiencia* of Santo Domingo and judge of the appellate court (an institution in vogue on the island before the establishment of the *Audiencia*)¹⁶ with six companions, armed two ships¹⁷ and sailed through those islands. Their purpose was to search for and bring back Indians in order to make them work in the gold mines which they conjointly owned. The ships arrived in a storm at a cape which they called Santa Elena¹⁸ because it was her feast-day. The Spaniards landed at a river which they called Jordan because this was the name of the mariner who first saw it.¹⁹

Soon the Indians approached them to see the ships, startled over a thing for them so strange and novel. Indians and Spaniards treated each other in a friendly manner so that the Spaniards succeeded in inviting the Indians to enter their ships and see what they had brought in them.²⁰ More than a hundred and thirty Indians went aboard. When the Spaniards saw them go below the decks, they shipped anchor and took to sail for Santo Domingo. One of the two ships was lost, but the Indians who remained in the other, although they arrived at Santo Domingo, preferred to die of grief and hunger, for they refused to eat, enraged over the deceit practiced on them under the guise of friendship.²¹

In the year 1524,²² the *oidor*, Lucas Vásquez de Ayllón, armed three ships in Santo Domingo. Meanwhile, Emperor Charles V honored him with the habit of the Order of Santiago and bestowed on him the title of Governor of the province of Chicora, that province which the pilot Miruelo discovered, but who neglected to determine its latitude and take its position. One of the ships was lost in the River Jordan but again joined the company of the other two along the coast, and reached a

pleasant stretch of country. The *oidor* commanded two hundred soldiers to land in order to go and see the Indian town which was three leagues inland. The natives regaled the Spaniards with festivities and dances which lasted for three days. Then one night, the Indians suddenly slew them all, whereby they avenged themselves for the former trick of the Spaniards, when these carried off the Indians to mine gold.²³

In the year 1539, by order of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, Captain Juan Vásquez Coronado²⁴ set out to explore Florida. He discovered and explored much excellent land but was unable to colonize it owing to many difficulties. About the very same time,²⁵ Pánfilo de Narváez entered and explored Florida, but he with all the Spaniards who accompanied him were lost, except Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and three other Spaniards.²⁶ To these God gave such aid that among those infidels, they worked miracles in the name of Christ, as Father Joseph de Acosta in his book, *De Natura novi orbis*, and other writers regard them.²⁷

In the same year 1539, Hernando de Soto went to Florida with the title of *adelantado*.²⁸ He had been a resident of the city of Cuzco and was one of the first and oldest conquerors of Peru. De Soto was with Marquis Pizarro at Cassamarca in the prison of Atahualpa Inca. Because De Soto was the first Spaniard who saw him and spoke to him, he entertained an affection for him.²⁹ Powerful king that he was, and though a prisoner in his own house and country, through the audacity of those few and valiant men, he gave him rich presents and keepsakes. With these and the part which fell to him owing to the imprisonment and despoliation of so powerful a king, he returned to Spain and went to his own district which was Villanueva de Barcarrota,³⁰ having in his possession a hundred thousand ducats.³¹ This amount made him a very rich man, for at that time there was not in Spain so much gold and silver as was brought in later.

Not satisfied with the hardships endured in the conquest of Peru, he wished to undertake similar hazards. So with insistence, he entreated Emperor Charles of glorious memory,

that when he would hold his court at Valladolid, he should grant him the favor of conquering the kingdom of Florida. This he wished to accomplish at his own expense and risk. For this purpose he was willing to spend his fortune and life in the service of the king. This favor was granted with the result that he came in the year 1539 with seven galleons and nine hundred and fifty Spaniards, not counting the sailors and naval officers who formed a great number.³² Besides, there were secular priests, and religious of the Orders of St. Dominic and St. Francis, and a Trinitarian.³³ On the island of Cuba more people joined him, among whom was a knight, a conqueror of the island, named Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa. Him he made captain-general of the whole army.

The armada arrived at the Bay of Espíritu Santo, at a place the Indians called Pohoi. From here he commenced the discovery and conquest of very great provinces, such as Apalache and Acuera, Avinu and others through which he entered Apalache. Going on great journeys he came upon and conquered the provinces up to the Great River³⁴ where he died. Amid tears of sorrow they buried him in the middle of the river, in a tree, hollowed in the manner of a coffin which they covered with wood; and with a heavy trunk of oak, they lowered him to the bottom of the river, lest the Indians, in mockery, cut his remains to pieces.³⁵ The governor who succeeded him, and whom De Soto had appointed before his death,³⁶ together with the captains and the other people, set out over unknown lands to the city of Mexico where they separated and went to live in different parts of that kingdom.³⁷

Although both Spaniards and Indians (who are very warlike, of unconquerable spirits, and valiant warriors) performed great military deeds, encountered huge difficulties and suffered hunger and fatigue,—things worthy of honor and everlasting memory—it was not God's will that with such a large body of soldiers and horses, they should settle any part of that kingdom; but rather, being continually on the move, they were always discovering new lands and great provinces thickly populated with Indians.

When the death of the *adelantado*, De Soto, became known Emperor Charles V in the year 1549,³⁸ sent thither a religious of the Order of St. Dominic, Fray Luís Cancel,³⁹ as superior of the other religious of his Order.⁴⁰ These offered their services as preachers to reduce those peoples to the obedience of the Church and the King. Coming to Florida they set on land and commenced to preach to the natives. These Indians, apprized by past experience with the Spaniards, without waiting or wishing to listen to them, killed Fray Luís and two of his companions.⁴¹ The others made for the ship and returned to Spain where they gave an account of the fierceness of those barbarous Indians.

Also, certain French ships endeavored to enter the kingdom of Florida. They anchored in the Bay of San Mateo where they set up a monument to the King of France. It was a very high shaft and on it they placed an escutcheon of the arms and the fleur-de-lis of France. When the King of Spain was advised of this, he ordered the governor of Havana, Diego Mazariegos, to send someone to tear down the shaft and the escutcheon. Hernán Manrique de Rojas, a knight of the kingdom of Toledo, was chosen to do this. He went to Florida and cut down the shaft and threw it upon the ground. He took away the coat-of-arms and frustrated the hope of more Frenchmen returning to that place. This happened in the year 1554.⁴² Yet ten years afterwards,⁴³ the French insisted on entering and settling there. What happened to them will be seen in the following chapter.

NOTES

1

¹Historians with few exceptions, till about fifty years ago, gave the year of Ponce de León's discovery of Florida as 1512. Garcilaso de la Vega, in *La Florida del Inca*, (Madrid, 1723), p. 3, distinctly says that Easter Day on which Florida was discovered, "fue el año de mil quinientos y trece, que se-

gun los Computistas se celebró aquel año a los veinte y siete de Março." Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré obtained his knowledge of the correct year of Florida's discovery from the Inca whom he met at Córdoba, Spain in the year 1612. Father Oré, a creole and native of Peru was naturally interested in meeting his renowned countryman, whose writings even today are invaluable. At that time Father Oré was engaged in sending to Florida some Franciscan friars. He asked the Inca for some copies of his history of that country. To this request the Inca responded by giving to Father Oré, three copies of *La Florida del Inca*, and four copies of the *Commentarios Reales*, relating to the history of Peru. *Vide Commentarios Reales* (Madrid, 1723), p. 460. Also, Barcía, *Ensayo Cronologico para la historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), p. 181. *La Florida del Inca* was first published at Lisbon in 1605; the *Commentarios Reales*, at Lisbon, in 1609. The patent authorizing Ponce de León "to discover and settle the Islands of Beniny" was signed, February 23, 1512. It was physically impossible for this patent to reach the navigator in time to enable him to fit out his vessels and discover Florida by March 27 of the same year. A concise explanation of how modern historians have solved the problem and determined the date of discovery as 1513 is contained in Frederick Davis, "The Record of Ponce de Leon's Discovery of Florida, 1513," *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XI (1932), 14-15.

²Garcilaso de la Vega, in *La Florida del Inca*, p. 3, writes that Ponce de León was a "Cavallero Natural del Reyno de Leon." Lowery, citing Herrera, says he was "a native of San Servas in the province of Campos and the kingdom of Leon." Cf. *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1901), p. 131. (Cited hereinafter as *Spanish Settlements*, I).

³This sentence of Father Oré, "he was satisfied with having discovered it," is more clearly expressed by the Inca: "Contentòse Juan Ponce de Leon solo con vèr que era Tierra Firme, ò Isla, vino á España." *La Florida del Inca*, p. 3.

⁴Prince Henry of Portugal, commonly known as the Navigator.

⁵Father Orè is in error here. He misses the date of Prince Henry's death by thirty years! Prince Henry died November 13, 1460. Arthur Helps, *The Spanish Conquest in America* (New York, 1900), I, 39. note. See also: Atanasio López, O. F. M., ed., *Relación histórica de la Florida escrita en el siglo XVII* (Madrid, 1931), I, 56, note. He writes: "El Infante D. Enrique, llamado el Navegante, murió el 13 re noviembre de 1460." He cites as his authority the work of D. Antonio Caetano de Sousa, *Historia geneológica de Casa Real Portugeza* (Lisbon, 1736), II, 110. This work of López will be cited hereinafter as *Relación histórica*.

⁶Thirty-two years afterwards. Cf. note 5.

⁷The island was called Isla Española by Columbus. Fernandina was the name given to Cuba, though not from the beginning.

⁸The city of Santo Domingo was founded by Bartholomew Columbus in 1496 during Christopher's absence in Spain. Santo Domingo is the oldest European settlement in the Americas.

⁹Barlovento, or the Lesser Antilles were known to the Spaniards but no settlements of account were made on them.

¹⁰By the time of Father Orè's visit to the Caribbean, the islands of the area had declined in prosperity and population for a number of reasons: the greater attractions of the continent, especially Mexico and Peru; the death of the Indians; and the inroads made by foreign filibusters. See: Bolton and Marshall, *The Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1932), p. 67.

¹¹In 1521.

¹²Ponce de León died in Cuba shortly after returning from Florida. His death resulted from an arrow wound received in the encounter with the Floridian Indians.

¹³Diego de Miruelo, in 1516.

¹⁴This expedition was sponsored by Vásquez de Ayllón,

who, however, remained at home. The pilot of the expedition was Francisco de Gordillo.

¹⁵An auditor of the court.

¹⁶"In 1511, a tribunal of independent royal judges was constituted in the colony of Española to try cases appealed from the town magistrates and the governor." Charles H. Cunningham, *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies* (Univ. of Calif. Publications in History, Berkeley, 1919), IX, 10-11. The usual date given for the establishment of the *audiencia* is September 14, 1526. That the *audiencia* existed earlier, however, is very probable. Vide Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 19, note.

¹⁷Ayllón sent one ship. The two vessels are explained by the fact that Gordillo was joined by Pedro Quexos in the Lucayas. Quexos had been out on the Carib hunting expedition and was returning home when he met Gordillo. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 154-155.

¹⁸Santa Elena was not named on this occasion, but later by one of Ayllón's pilots. Mary Ross, "The Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena (Port Royal) in 1578," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (1925), 352.

¹⁹Jordan was one of the captains of the second Ayllón expedition in 1526. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 165.

²⁰Not, however, before the Indians took to flight at the appearance of the well dressed Spaniards. The Spaniards pursued them and captured two. These were sent back to call the others. Confidence was then restored. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 155-156.

²¹Lowery, citing Gómara says the same. Hunger strikes in modern times are nothing new. Nor was this the first time Indians preferred death to submission. *Spanish Settlements*, I, 157.

²²Quexos who went ahead of the main expedition in 1525 had two ships. When Ayllón sailed in July, 1526, he had six ships. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 164.

²³This story of poetic justice is given by Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, p. 4. Ayllón's colony failed be-

cause of the cold winter and lack of food. Ayllón himself died, and after that, internal dissension completed the ruin.

²⁴The explorer's name was Francisco Vázquez de Coronado as given by Pedro de Castañeda, who accompanied the Coronado expedition and who became its historian. Father Oré writes that Coronado set out to discover Florida. The regions north of Mexico were known only in a hazy manner, while the Florida of that day included all the hinterland from Newfoundland to Texas. One has only to read Barcia's *Ensayo Cronológico* and the documents of the period to realize what a wide extent Florida had. Pedro de Castañeda in his narrative of the Coronado expedition, throws light on the hazy ideas entertained at the time with regard to the geography of the north. Concerning New Mexico he writes: "For example, some make it an uninhabitable country, others have it bordering on Florida, and still others on Greater India, which does not appear to be a slight difference." Cf. F. W. Hodge, ed. *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (New York, 1907), p. 282.

²⁵In 1528.

²⁶Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, Maldonado and Esteven, the negro. They reached Mexico in 1536. Too often it is forgotten that there was a fifth survivor, Juan Ortiz who had been left in Florida and who was rescued by the members of the De Soto expedition. *Vide* Francis Borgia Steck, " 'Captain John Smith' in Florida," *Franciscan Herald*, XXIV (1936) 81-83 and 104-107.

²⁷Cabeza de Vaca's account of the cures among the Indians is given in his own narrative. *Vide* F. W. Hodge, ed., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States 1528-1543*, pp. 76-78. For an interesting discussion of the reputed cures, see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements* I, 456-457. Acosta in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Madrid, 1894), writes about Cabeza de Vaca and the circumstances of the cures. Acosta, *op cit.*, II, 347-348. Acosta's work appeared at Salamanca in 1589 in Latin, and at Seville in 1590 in Spanish. It has since appeared in a number of editions. As the title indicates,

Acosta's *Historia natural y moral* is physical and ethnical rather than political and military. His purpose was to present a history of the Indians themselves as well as to make known the *causas y razón* of the new and strange things in the Indies, Acosta, *op. cit.*, I, xiii.

²⁸The *asiento* and *capitulación* between the emperor and De Soto were executed at Valladolid, April 20, 1537. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 215.

²⁹From Cassamarca or Cajamarca, Pizarro sent Hernando de Soto with thirty horsemen ahead to interview Atahualpa. Writers disagree as to the manner in which Atahualpa received De Soto. Philip A. Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire and the Spanish Rule in Peru: 1530-1780* (New York, 1932), p. 30. After Atahualpa's capture, De Soto stoutly opposed having the Inca murdered. The murder was accomplished in De Soto's absence. Against this act he registered his fierce protest. Means, *op. cit.* pp. 44-45.

³⁰Villanueva de Barcarrota is in the province of Bádajoz in southwestern Spain, adjoining Portugal.

³¹From Atahualpa's ransom, Pizarro and the conquerors were able to obtain 1,326,539 pesos in gold and 51,610 marks of silver. From this amount was deducted the royal fifth which was sent to Spain. Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire*, p. 36. Garcilaso de la Vega writes that De Soto received over 100,000 ducats. Father Oré's statements as well as some of his phrases are taken from *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 1-2.

³²This number is given in *La Florida del Inca*, p. 9. The Gentleman of Elvas says: "Six hundred men in all followed him to Florida." T. H. Lewis, ed., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 139.

³³One of the purposes of the De Soto expedition was the conversion of the natives of Florida. This purpose was expressed in the royal grant. Twelve priests in all accompanied De Soto, eight of whom were secular priests, and four of whom belonged to religious Orders. The names of only four secular priests have come down to us: Rodrigo de Gallegos, Diego de Bañuelos, Francisco del Poço, Dionisio de París. Luís de

Soto and Juan de Gallegos were Dominicans; Juan de Torres was a Franciscan; and Francisco de la Rocha was a Trinitarian. *La Florida del Inca*, p. 9. For details of the religious aspects of the expedition, *vide* F. B. Steck, O. F. M., "Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition," *Mid-America*, IV (1932), 3-26.

³⁴The Mississippi.

³⁵Garcilaso de la Vega gives a very detailed account of De Soto's burial. He was first buried in the earth and later lowered into the Mississippi. *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 208-209.

³⁶When he felt death coming on, De Soto named Luís de Moscoso de Alvarado as his successor and commanded the officers of the expedition to obey him until the king of Spain should ordain otherwise. *La Florida del Inca*, p. 207.

³⁷Some of the remaining members of the expedition stayed in Mexico but the majority went to Peru. *La Florida del Inca*, p. 264.

³⁸The royal *cédula* giving Fray Luís Cancer permission to go to Florida was given to him December 28, 1547. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 417.

³⁹The usual form in which the friar's name is found is Cancer. His full name was Fray Luís Cancer de Barbastro. He was an Aragonese. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 411.

⁴⁰Those who accompanied Fray Luís were: Fray Gregorio de Beteta, Fray Juan García, and Fray Diego de Tolosa. A fourth member was an oblate named Fuentes. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 418.

⁴¹Fray Luís Cancer, Fray Juan García and the oblate were the three who were killed by the Indians. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 421-427.

⁴²The French made their first settlement along the Florida coast in 1562 under Jean Ribaut. He "erected on a sand-hill near the mouth of the river [St. Johns] a stone column, on which were engraved the French arms, the date, and the name of the commander of the expedition." Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, Florida, 1562-1574* (New York, 1905), pp. 33-

34. (Hereinafter this work will be referred to as Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II.) Ribaut did not found a settlement there but passed on to Port Royal in South Carolina where he established a French base and then returned to France. At Port Royal a second column was raised. Hernando Manrique de Rojas went to Florida in 1564 to carry out the royal orders, among which was the one to tear down the French columns. He was unable to locate the one on the St. Johns but succeeded in securing the column at Port Royal. This was taken aboard ship and transferred to Havana. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 35 and 47-48.

⁴³1564. This date is correct but it was only two years after the founding of the colony of Ribaut that a second was established by René de Laudonnière. Stopping at the St. Johns River Laudonnière found the Ribaut column which Manrique de Rojas had failed to locate. On the St. Johns, Fort Caroline was built and there the colony made its settlement. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 54-58.

II

THE ARRIVAL OF THE ADELANTADO, DIEGO (PEDRO) MENENDEZ VALDEZ¹, IN FLORIDA AND THE EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE THERE.

His Majesty the Emperor, having concerned himself in the discovery and conquest of Florida, as I have said, King Philip II, our lord of glorious memory, continued it with the same interest. Wherefore His Majesty, in the year 1564, sent Pedro Menéndez Valdés, a knight of the habit of Santiago, with the titles of *adelantado*, governor and captain-general of those provinces, making, moreover, various stipulations concerning the conquest.² Menéndez was at the same time governor and captain-general of the island of Cuba and in charge of the armada of twelve galleons in the service known as the fleet of the Indies. He was a person of such ability that he alone at that time occupied and fulfilled with exactness those offices which today are held by four distinct persons.³

A son of the *adelantado* was lost at sea, so Menéndez with some vessels, went to look for him along that coast.⁴ Stopping at a port called San Mateo, twelve leagues from St. Augustine, he found at the entrance of the port certain French ships. Their general was Jean Ribaut.⁵ The French had already built a fort a league away from the bar. They [the Spaniards] had certain quarrels as to who should lower the flag, so they withheld the challenge [for a battle] for some other day.⁶

Since the *adelantado* considered the French force the stronger, he took to sail that night in the direction of Havana and entered the port of St. Augustine. Here on the following morning he sighted the enemy who came out to seek him and whom he let pass by. Then with some Indian friends who knew the country, he set out overland and returned to the French fort, and without losing any of his men, he assaulted

and conquered the French at dawn, sacking the fort and taking possession of what was in it.⁷

When the French armada arrived near Cape Cañaveral, thirty leagues from St. Augustine, a wind storm hit it with such force that it was stranded. The people went on land and then travelled along the beach toward the north in search of their fort. The *adelantado* held for certain that the shipwreck of the enemy had taken place owing to the violent storm they encountered.⁸ With his infantry he went to the pass of the bar of Matanzas, five leagues before one arrives at St. Augustine from the south. There Jean Ribaut and the greater number of the people of his armada arrived and when he was about to pass there, the *adelantado* sent him a message commanding him to surrender, at the same time stating that the fort had already been taken. In testimony of this, the *adelantado* sent him at the same time the keys of the fort together with a hat of the French general. When Ribaut realized such evident signs of defeat, he surrendered. The company crossed over in a bark and the Spaniards beheaded them all.⁹ Those who escaped into the interior, afterwards came to the same end.

After this victorious event, the *adelantado* returned to St. Augustine by way of the seashore, leaving Jean Ribaut, the French general in the custody of a captain named Bayona. To the latter the order had been given that along the beach he would find a lance planted in the ground and that he should kill Ribaut at that place.¹⁰ This he did, stabbing him with a poniard. Because the French were killed at that bar, [the Spaniards named it Matanzas.¹¹ After the *adelantado* had strengthened the fort at St. Augustine he went to Havana and notified the king of what had taken place.

Within eight months there came storeships filled with provisions, munitions and supplies. With them came the captain-general, Sancho de Arciniega, with about a thousand relief troops.¹² By order of the king, with them the *adelantado* fortified four presidios from the Bay of Carlos¹³ to Santa

Elena,¹⁴ dividing the infantry among them. Because ships were lost every year along the coast of Matacumbe, owing to the unskillfulness of the pilots in the Bahama Channel, the Indians killed the Spaniards who took refuge on the beach. As a result they called the place 'The Martyrs' which perhaps, some were for their deaths took on the nature of martyrdom, because they died as Catholics at the hands of the infidel.¹⁵

The Spaniards who remained in the forts, which they built in different parts, made some incursions and had many encounters with the warlike Indians. All of that coast are warlike, particularly those of Santa Elena and the surrounding district. In these encounters many people died, or suffered hunger, privations and great hardships. They bore up with these, however, defending particularly the forts of St. Augustine and Santa Elena.

NOTES

II

¹Pedro Menéndez de Avilés was the *adelantado's* proper name.

²The *asiento* entered into between Philip II and Menéndez de Avilés was dated March 20, 1565. According to the several provisions of the *asiento*, Menéndez was to divide the land into *repartimientos* among the five hundred settlers, found two towns, introduce horses and cattle, take along religious and above all drive out the French by whatever means he saw fit. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 142-143.

³The royal officials on whom devolved the duties of ruling the province at the time of Father Oré's writing were the governor, the treasurer, the accountant, and the factor.

⁴The son here referred to was Don Juan Menéndez. He was wrecked off the Bermudas on a return trip from Mexico. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 139.

⁵Menéndez encountered four French ships at the mouth of the St. Johns River on September 4, 1565. Lowery, *Spanish*

Settlements, II, 155. This was twelve leagues north of St. Augustine. Later a Franciscan mission was founded in the vicinity and called San Juan del Puerto.

⁶There appears to be no record of a quarrel. Menéndez and his council of captains differed as to whether the French should be attacked then and there. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 155-156.

⁷The stronghold of the French, Fort Caroline, was taken by surprise by Menéndez and his soldiers on the morning of September 20. Orders were given to spare the women and children. Fort Caroline was rechristened Fort San Mateo in honor of St. Matthew, whose feast fell on September 20. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 172-180.

⁸Menéndez's surmise that the French had been wrecked became an assurance when Indians from the south notified him of Ribaut's disaster. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 189-190.

⁹Ten of Ribaut's men who stated they were Catholics were saved from execution through the interposition of Father Mendoza, the chaplain of St. Augustine. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 193-194.

¹⁰Jean Ribaut and his men were executed the very same evening at a spot pointed out by Menéndez. The place of their execution was a line drawn in the sand by Menéndez's spear. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 194.

¹¹*Matar* means to slay. *Matanzas* means slaughterings.

¹²Arciniega arrived at St. Augustine in June, 1566. His fleet comprised seventeen ships, fifteen hundred men, five hundred sailors and plentiful supplies. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 255-256.

¹³The Bay of Carlos was in the territory of the Caloosa or Carlos Indians in the southwestern part of Florida. *Vide* Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, map opposite p. 210.

¹⁴Santa Elena was the second Spanish city to be founded in Florida. It was located on Parris Island, South Carolina. Mary Ross, "The Spanish Settlement of Santa Elena (Port

Royal) in 1578," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, IX (1925), 353.

¹⁵According to Lowery, who cites Herrera, the Martyr Islands or *Los Mártires* were so named by Ponce de León on his first voyage of discovery in Florida, "because the high rocks looked at a distance like men who are suffering." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 141. It is quite possible that the term *Los Mártires* was given a new signification in the course of time by reason of the many lives lost there by shipwreck and Indian killings.

III

THE DISCOVERY OF JACAN, AND THE MARTYRDOM OF TWELVE RELIGIOUS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

About the year 1570, while the *adelantado*, Pedro Menéndez was governing the presidios of Florida, a ship from the port of Santa Elena, lost its course towards the north, at a latitude of $37\frac{1}{2}$ degrees and put into a large bay which the sailors called the Bay of Madre de Dios.¹ From among some Indians who came aboard they retained a young *cacique*, whom they took along with them to Spain, where after instructing him in the faith, they baptized him and gave him the name Luís.² The king ordered that the necessary sustenance be given him all the time he remained in Spain. They placed him with the fathers of the Society of Jesus to be educated.

In the year 1577³ the *adelantado* brought fifty settlers to Florida and divided them between the two forts of Santa Elena and St. Augustine. In the following year, 1578⁴, eight religious of the Society came for the purpose of converting the natives of Florida. When they arrived they exercised their ministry in Santa Elena, while two of them went to the province of Guale, fourteen leagues from there, between St. Augustine and Santa Elena, in order to instruct the natives. One went to the northern district, to a province called Escamacu, taking in his company a boy of ten years of age, named Juan de Lara, a son of a settler, in order to learn the language. To-day Juan de Lara lives at St. Augustine. After serving the natives for a year and a half, considering the little progress that he made, the father returned to Santa Elena, where the other religious were.

Father Alamo (this was the name of one of the religious of that Congregation) went to Spain⁵ to give an account to his superiors of the condition and character of the natives of that

land, and of the meagre progress he made among them. For, owing to their resistance and obduracy, the fathers did not deem it fitting to baptize any during this entire period.⁶ At that time the *cacique*, Don Luís was living in the [Jesuit] house at Seville, advancing in the Spanish language, as well as in reading and writing, together with other branches of knowledge which they taught him.

When he learned that religious had gone for the conversion of the natives of Florida, he told the Father Rector and others that he would venture to take some priests to his country and that with the help of God and his own industry, the Indians of that land would be converted to the faith. These words aroused in the hearts of the religious an intense desire and zeal for the salvation of souls. Moved to resolution, they offered themselves to the king, and asked his permission as well as for the necessary provisions to go to those parts, and to take with them the *cacique*, Don Luís.

When His Majesty had granted permission and the supplies they had asked for, they set out from Spain and arrived at Santa Elena in safety.⁷ From here the *adelantado* gave them a ship and provisions for a year, and ordered that a captain, Vincente Gonzales by name, should take them thither. There were all together twelve religious priests⁸ and a boy, Alonso de Lara,⁹ the elder brother of the other mentioned before, sons of a settler of Santa Elena. Having arrived at the Bay of Madre de Dios at Jacán, they ascended the river for a distance of twelve leagues. On the banks of this river, the *cacique*, Don Luís had his towns. Two brother *caciques* of Don Luís together with other Indians received them and gave them lodgings amid demonstrations of great joy.

Seeing the good condition of the land, they unloaded their provisions and found lodging in a house which they soon constructed, made of palms. This had a small apartment to one side where the fathers were to say Mass until they could build a more commodious church. From here Vincente Gonzales returned to Santa Elena to give an account to the *adelantado* as to where he had left the religious. And as the enemy of

the human race always tries to impede works of this sort, dedicated to the salvation of souls, he instigated the *cacique*, Don Luís (now placed in the position of being in the midst of his own people) to give himself over to immorality in so shameful a manner that the superior of those religious, Father Juan Bautista, reprimanded him severely. Afterwards in words couched in the spirit of religion and charity, he admonished and begged him, telling him that he should remember that they had come, moved by the promises he had made in Spain, and under his protection. Moreover, if he gave such bad example, they would not be able to implant the Gospel, in whose ministers and interpreters, cleanness of life is so very important. Despite these and other gentle words which he and the other religious spoke to him, they could not soften him, but rather they were the occasion of spiritual hardening of the heart, for the devil reigned in his heart as he did in the heart of Judas. He forged the treachery in his breast. Wishing to withdraw from the sight of him who had reprimanded him, Don Luís said he was going to look for chestnuts and nuts of other varieties, in one of his towns, which was four leagues from there, and that he would return very soon, within a definite number of days. The fathers let him go, but seeing that he did not return on the day and at the time specified, they wrote him a letter,¹⁰ asking him for the love of God to come, and to remember that they were without an interpreter and that after God, the conversion of the natives depended on him.

But it had no influence on the apostate *cacique* neither to induce him to come nor to answer the letter. On this account those servants of God were in great confusion. Wherefore, they determined to send a father whom he respected, and who was a preacher, together with a companion to the place where Don Luís was.¹¹ These were to admonish him to come along with them. They presumed they would not be killed when he saw them coming personally. But as the devil had the upper-hand in his heart already, he killed the two priest ambassadors as soon as they came; then he set out to kill the others, on the

vespers of the Purification of Our Lady,¹² on the day of the renowned martyr, St. Ignatius,¹³ in whose heart was written the name of Jesus. On such a day these two blessed martyrs of the Company of Jesus shed their blood.

Having arrived at the place where the others were, the *cacique* Don Luís said that the fathers remained behind with the Indians who were bringing the chestnuts and other varieties of nuts for his repast; that they would arrive in the morning, and that the next day being the solemn feast of Candlemas, he wished to go with all the Indians to cut wood in order to construct a church for the Virgin; and that a father should say Mass in the morning. Therefore he asked for hatchets and other tools in order to distribute them among the Indians. On hearing this the fathers perceived that a church could be constructed. In the morning [one of the priests] said Mass. The youth, Alonso de Lara was in the house of a *cacique*, a brother of Don Luís, who also was a conspirator with his brother for the death of the religious. He had pity on Alonso for he did not kill him after the others, but took him to his house to give him some breakfast.

When the priest was celebrating Mass at the altar, and the others were assisting and officiating at it, Don Luís came and gave him a heavy blow on the head with a cutlass, and then wounded and killed the other companions, who were like sheep among those wolves and butchers. At the sound of the noise, Alonso de Lara came forth but the *cacique* who had taken him to his house, caught him by the arm and detained him from going to the scene. When all were dead the boy went out and saw the priest who had been celebrating Mass, stretched on the ground and breathing his last. The boy told Don Luís to help him bury the bodies and in the midst of the fear which he felt on seeing this deed, he took courage to ask with tears, that respect be shown to those priests, his companions and good masters, that they should receive burial. Digging the graves, they buried them all as well as they could.¹⁴ These were the trees they cut down and which will remain in perpetual memory as twelve¹⁵ columns of the church

which was erected in Jacán, when God was willing that the land be watered with the blood of martyrs so that new plants should sprout for heaven.

Holy Job says: "A tree hath hope: if it be cut, it groweth green again, and the boughs thereof sprout."¹⁶ Well may we apply these words, at the same time, to the death and burial of those innocent martyrs whom the sacrilegious apostate deceived that night when he said he was going to cut wood to build a church. These words foretold their precious death in the sight of the Lord and their names are written in heaven. These names I have not been able to find out in the diligent inquiry that I have made, except that of Father Juan Bautista, their prelate and superior.¹⁷

A miraculous thing happened: while the Indians were going about busily in despoiling the clothing, chalices, patens and sacerdotal vestments which they divided among themselves, profaning the vases and sacred objects in an abominable manner, they found a chest which contained relics and a crucifix which the martyrs had brought along for their devotion and consolation. An Indian wanted to give the chest a blow with a hatchet, but on raising his arm and on swinging to strike it, he fell dead. At this, fear fell upon the others with the result that they did not dare to approach it any more. Alonso de Lara told Don Luís that the relics should be placed in a *garita*.¹⁸ These are found all over Florida and in them the Indians place the maize they keep for their sustenance; it is a type of barn supported by four posts, high and bulky, raised from the earth. These they call *garitas*. Up into one of these, Alonso de Lara and Don Luís together raised the box of relics and the crucifix. It is hardly possible but that the soul of Don Luís was confounded and that his thoughts turned on the punishment of Heaven and the horrors of condemnation, over such a nefarious act and treasonable deed, which he committed.¹⁹

Such was the martyrdom of these servants of God. And as the Indians were the lords of the land and the authors of this abominable act of treachery, they held it a secret lest the

Spaniards find it out. Thus it was not discovered, nor divulged until the following year. It happened in this way:

NOTES

III

¹This bay, Chesapeake Bay, was called by the Spaniards *Baía de Madre de Dios de Jacán* or *Baía de Santa María de Jacán*. The year in which this Spanish vessel reached Jacán was 1561 and it belonged to the Villafañe expedition. M. Kenny, S. J., *The Romance of the Floridas*, (New York, 1934), pp. 88-89.

²The Indian *cacique* taken on this occasion was Don Luís de Velasco. He was taken by Captain Velásquez under Villafañe. Don Luís was taken to Mexico where he embraced Christianity. The viceroy of Mexico at the time was Don Luís de Velasco who was sponsor for the *cacique* at his baptism and who gave the *cacique* his name. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 89.

³Whatever the date may be to which Father Oré refers, it cannot be later than 1574. That year in September, Menéndez died at Santander, Spain. "Avilés, who at the outset had so keenly appreciated the importance of cultivating the soil, sent out farmers at different times to colonize his province." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 375.

⁴The first Jesuit missionaries came to Florida in 1567. They were Fathers Pedro Martínez and Juan Rogel, and Brother Francisco Villareal. Father Martínez was killed by the Indians as soon as he reached the coast of Florida. Father Rogel labored in Caloosa, while Brother Villareal went among the Tegesta in the region of modern Miami. In 1568 the following Jesuits set out from Spain for Florida: Fathers Juan Bautista de Segura, Gonzalo del Alamo, and Antonio Sedeño; Brothers Juan de la Carrera, Pedro de Linares, and Domingo Agustín Báez. In November, 1568, Fathers Segura, Sedeño

and Alamo were conducted to Tegesta. Brother Villareal was appointed catechist there. Father Alamo went to Caloosa, while Fathers Sedeño and Segura went to Guale or the coast of Georgia. Brother Báez worked among the Timucuan. A Brother Ruíz was sent to Tegesta. In 1570, the Jesuits Father Luís de Quiros, Brothers Gabriel Gómez and Sancho Zeballos left Spain for Florida. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, *passim*, especially pp. 153-232.

⁵Father Alamo was called to Spain by St. Francis Borgia, the general of the Society. This was in 1569. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 228.

⁶This is not quite correct. It is true that little progress was made in the matter of conversions, yet there were a few baptisms. By 1570 seven persons were baptized in Guale, four of whom were infants while the others were in danger of death. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 256. The general results of the Jesuits' work with regard to conversions during the entire period of their stay was very meagre.

⁷The names of the Jesuits who left Spain on this mission were: Father Luís Quiros, and Brothers Gabriel Gómez and Sancho Zeballos. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, pp. 244-245.

⁸The number of Jesuits who went to Jacán were eight. They were: Fathers Juan Bautista de Segura and Luís de Quiros; Brothers Pedro Linares, Gabriel Gómez, and Sancho Zeballos; the novices Juan Bautista Méndez, Gabriel de Solís and Cristóbal Redondo. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 273.

⁹The name of the boy was Alonso Olmos. He went along to serve the Fathers' Masses. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 273.

¹⁰These letters were sent through the medium of the Jesuit brothers. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 276.

¹¹Those sent on this occasion were Father Quiros and Brothers Bautista Méndez and Gabriel de Solís. Father Quiros "appeared to have won the Indian's attachment on the voyage

from Spain." Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 276. On this occasion all three were killed.

¹²The Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin or Candlemas Day falls on February 2. Since it is a feast of high rank its celebration commences with Vespers on the preceding day.

¹³The Saint Ignatius mentioned here is not to be confused with Saint Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. Reference is made here to the Feast of Saint Ignatius of Antioch, Asia Minor, who suffered martyrdom for the faith during the persecution of the Emperor Trajan. F. X. Funk, *A Manual of Church History* (St. Louis, 1910), I, 40. The feast occurs on February 1.

¹⁴In certain details Father Oré's account agrees with an account given by Brother Carrera. According to the latter, however, the priests were not slain at Mass but during their early morning devotions. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 278. Father Kenny places the date of the martyrdom of this second group on February 9. *op. cit.*, p. 281.

¹⁵The number should be eight to correspond with that number of martyrs. *Cf.* note 8.

¹⁶Book of Job, xiv, 7.

¹⁷*Cf.* note 8.

¹⁸A *garita* was a public granary. Le Moyne (1565) has left a picture of such a *garita* in drawing. *Vide* David I. Bushnell, Jr., *Native Villages and Village Sites East of the Mississippi* (*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 69), plate 16.

¹⁹An account of this story is given by Father Rogel. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, pp. 281-282. A later record of this event, also written by Father Rogel, was preserved in the Jesuit Archives of Mexico. For an English translation of the event according to Rogel, *vide* Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 282,

IV

THE DISCOVERY OF THE TREACHERY OF THE INDIANS AND OF THE DEATH OF THE RELIGIOUS.

After a year had passed, the same captain Vincente Gonzales set out to carry provisions to the religious.¹ When he arrived within sight of the town, he saw along the beach, people vested in cassocks and religious robes and it seemed to him that these were the religious. He was waiting until some one should come on board. Then a canoe came containing Indians. He asked them by signs why the fathers did not come on board. He wrote giving them notice that he was Vincente Gonzales and when no answer was forthcoming, suspicion of evil arose. Of the Indians who returned to the ship, he seized two while the others jumped into the water.² From yonder in a short time he saw that many Indians were coming in canoes. Then he took to sail and came to Santa Elena where he took the confession of the Indians.³ They said that the religious were dead and that there remained there a boy called Alonso de Lara.

At this time the king called the *adelantado* to Spain, but before going thither, it happened that he went from Santa Elena to St. Augustine, where he had two new frigates which were just being completed. Since it was the month of July, he sailed from that port to Spain. At the importunity of the religious who remained at Santa Elena, they stopped at Jacán, for he was to go and hunt for Alonso de Lara. He took with him a hundred and fifty soldiers of the presidio and among them Juan de Lara, the younger brother of the captive. All these sailed in four ships. Arriving at the bay, they found two Indians who belonged to the *cacique* by whom Alonso de Lara had been protected from the fury of Don Luís. The *cacique* had disguised him during the night to make him look

like Don Luís's niece for he knew Alonso's "uncle" would not kill him.

They anchored the ships. Approaching the Indians, Juan de Lara asked for his brother Alonso. The Indians answered that he was in the power of their *cacique*, a day's journey from there. The *adelantado* told them to say that Alonso was his son and that they should tell their *cacique* to send him to him. At the same time he sent some gifts. The following day he sent Captain Vincente Gonzales with a tender and thirty soldiers to Don Luís's town so that he could perchance catch and apprehend him. Arriving at the edge of the town, the captain commanded the soldiers to hide below the decks. Since the Indians saw no more than six men, sixty Indians came on board in canoes, wearing the patens belonging to the chalices as ornaments about their necks. Since they were naked (which is the custom of the Indians of the whole land) they covered their private parts with the corporals. The captain invited them to eat honey-cakes and biscuits which he brought. Then while they were in the midst of their meal, the soldiers sallied forth from below the decks, seized hold of thirteen of the more important Indians, and killed more than twenty.⁴ With this booty of prisoners they returned to the bay where the *adelantado* had remained. At that place there arrived within two days, two hundred Indians who brought with them Alonso de Lara, whom they handed over. He was naked, in Indian fashion. It was he who gave a true and lengthy story of the martyrdom of the fathers in the manner in which it has been related.⁵

The *adelantado* then sent Don Diego de Velasco, his son-in-law with a hundred soldiers, as well as the two Lara brothers to look over the condition of the land and to speak to the *cacique* who had defended and taken under his protection Alonso de Lara. From the information obtained regarding the territory, it appeared that the land was rich. They returned, however, with little or no news concerning the things they desired to know for the frightened Indians had fled. The *adelantado* put many questions to the thirteen prisoners whom

Captain Gonzales brought with him. He made a proposal to them saying: would anyone venture to bring Don Luís to him, dead or alive? One offered to do this. He gave him a definite time to return and said that if at the time determined he would not come through with his undertaking, he would have to hang them all. They asked for a period of ten days in which to carry out their enterprise. They sent him out to accomplish that which the *adelantado* had told them to do. He never returned, although more days passed beyond the time stipulated. The *adelantado* then gave orders that the captured Indians be put to death. He asked them if they wished to die as Christians, and this they accepted. Willingly they asked for baptism. A religious⁶ instructed them and exhorted them as was fitting. Then they were hung from the yard-arms. When this was accomplished, the *adelantado* went to Spain on August 24, 1572, sending a religious⁷ and Alonso de Lara in a tender to Havana.

The reason why the *adelantado*, Pedro Menéndez, went to Spain was because His Majesty had sent for him and had ordered him to get ready the armada at Santander. There, however, the *adelantado* died.⁸ His body was carried to the town of Avilés, where he was born.⁹ They placed his body in an honorable grave in the parish church. His tomb was covered with a canopy and the cross of Santiago, together with an epitaph in gold letters which relates his deeds and the offices he held and the title of *adelantado*.¹⁰ He left the government of Florida in the hands of his son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco, who was married to his younger daughter, Doña María Menéndez.¹¹ The *adelantado* had explored the coast of Florida from Cape Cañaveral which is in 28 degrees latitude, to the Bay of Madre de Dios in Jacán where the English have now fortified themselves and peopled it in latitude of 36 degrees.¹² He explored, likewise, the coast of the Bahama Channel from Cape Cañaveral directly up to Carlos Bay.

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IV

¹The Jesuit Brother Juan Salcedo accompanied this expedition. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 284.

²The ship went first to Havana and then returned to Florida. One of the two Indian captives "jumped overboard and disappeared" in the Bahama Channel. Kenny, *The Romance of the Floridas*, p. 284.

³Menéndez de Avilés in Cuba heard of the fate of the Jesuit missionaries. From there he set out for Santa Elena where he arrived on July 22, 1572. From Santa Elena he proceeded to Jacán. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 373.

⁴According to Lowery only eight Indians were seized. *Spanish Settlements*, II, 373.

⁵The account of the Jesuit martyrdom rests entirely upon the veracity of Alonso de Lara. He was the sole surviving witness of the deaths of the religious.

⁶This religious was Father Rogel. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 373.

⁷Cf. note 6.

⁸On September 17, 1574.

⁹This occurred in the year 1591. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 383. Avilés is on the bay of Biscay in the province of Asturias.

¹⁰The inscription over the grave of Menéndez is as follows: "Here lies interred the very illustrious cavalier Pedro Menez de Avilés, native of this town, Adelantado of the Provinces of Florida, Commander of the Holy Cross of La Carça of the Order of Santiago and C.n Gen.al of the Ocean Sea and of the Catholic Armada which the Lord Philip II. assembled against England in the year 1574, at Santander, where he died on the 17th of September of the said year being fifty-five years of age." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, II, 383-384.

¹¹In 1575 Don Diego de Velasco wrote to the king: "Owing to the absence of the Adelantado, my father-in-law, I have

served four years in the office of captain-general and governor of these provinces; and in order to do it better, I brought hither my wife and household." Diego de Velasco to the king, St. Augustine, Florida, August, 1575, in J. T. Connor, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida* (Deland, 1925), I, 145. (Hereinafter cited as *Colonial Records*.) Menéndez de Avilés had left Florida in 1572.

¹²Reference is here made to the English settlement at Jamestown. Jamestown however is between 37 and 38 degrees latitude.

REBELLION OF THE INDIANS OF SANTA ELENA AND GUALE.

When the *adelantado* went to Spain, and left the government of the presidios to his son-in-law, Don Diego de Velasco, the Indians of Guale and Escamacu were quiet and peaceful to such an extent that a lone soldier went securely to any of the towns from one district to another and treated with the Indians. Then it happened that one of the principal *caciques* of the peninsula of Guale together with his wife became Christians. And because one of his vassals refused him respect and obedience, the *cacique* approached the town. A nephew of the recalcitrant *cacique* killed the Christian chieftain by an arrow shot. Wherefore the wife of the dead chieftain went to Santa Elena to complain to the governor. Since her husband had become a Christian, she asked the governor to protect her and avenge the murder. To appease her, the governor commanded all the principal chieftains of the province of Guale to be called together, giving them the assurance that he would do them no harm. He ordered them to bring to him the Indian who had killed the Christian *cacique*. With this assurance they went to Santa Elena with the murderer. Though the governor tried to placate the woman with gifts and cajolery, he was unable to satisfy her in any way. Seeing before her the murderer of her husband, she asked for justice the more insistently, protesting that unless justice were meted out, many more deaths would occur among them. The governor then, to avoid greater evil, sentenced the Indian murderer to be hung. The sentence was put into execution and he was hung in the presence of the other *caciques*. When they saw that the governor had broken his plighted word, they went to their towns in an angry mood, swearing that they would avenge this affront.¹

Soon the Indians conspired with those of Escamacu, their neighbors who live to the north. They sent them gifts as well as an account of the injury they had received. They told them that if they brought any Spaniards to their towns they would kill the same and would not let them return. These Indians of Escamacu are very valiant, feared and esteemed as such.

At this time, certain Indians in the Spanish service fled and took with them the clothing of their overseers. Twenty-two soldiers went out to search for these Indians.² When they arrived at Escamacu, they were well received by the Indians. Since these Indians had already determined to put into execution their wicked designs, they arranged not to have their women and children appear, which is a sign of war. When an ensign inquired why the women did not appear the Indians asked why the Spaniards had on padded armor and appeared with lighted matches.

The ensign not wishing to excite the Indians, commanded the soldiers to disarm and placed a guard at the end of a hut. At dawn when a soldier came forth and went among the thickets to answer a need, he saw a group of Indians attack the hut, with the result that the alarm was given. While the soldiers were lighting their matches, the Indians shot the greater number of them with their arrows. The one who was in the thickets, not being able to obtain his arms, fled whither fortune led him toward Santa Elena. Looking back, he saw Alonso de Lara (the one who was rescued in Jacán) and another soldier coming, both badly wounded. They said that all their companions were dead. The soldier then said to them: "I am well, and you are badly wounded; good-bye, my brothers." For he saw all the Indians coming after them. So he parted from them and plunged into a lake until he saw the Indians return, dancing over their victory, with the heads of Alonso de Lara and his companion.

As it was growing towards night, he came forth from the lake. Without a road he struck out for the south and the next day he found the island of Santa Elena, but he was

forced to swim across the bay to reach it. Juan de Lara and other boys saw a naked man coming towards them through a swamp. They ran to him in order to assist him, for they knew who he was. His name was Calderón.³ To them he told the story of the death and sad fate of his companions. Together they went to the city, where the news became known with the result that great was the weeping for brothers, sons and husbands who had been killed.

Likewise, at this time, there were in the province of Guale three soldiers who had gone out on a rescuing expedition. An Indian woman warned them that the natives were intent on killing them and that, therefore, they should go to Santa Elena. Accordingly, that night, without the Indians having perceived it, the Spaniards departed. Four leagues from there, there was a strait so narrow that a canoe could hardly pass through it. There, Indians from Escamacu who were carrying to the *caciques* of Guale twenty heads of dead men as gifts, met them. The Indians apprehended the three soldiers, took them to Guale and killed them. Thus all the land of Guale was in a state of rebellion.⁴

At this time the king sent Hernando de Miranda as governor and captain-general of the provinces of Florida owing to the death of the *adelantado*.⁵ Miranda was the son-in-law of the *adelantado* and the husband of Doña Catalina Menéndez, the *adelantado's* heir according to the capitulations.⁶ Arriving in Havana from Spain, he found the annual subsidy and the money which had been brought from New Spain for the relief of the soldiers of Florida. When he landed at St. Augustine, he paid the soldiers, for that is the first port. Thence, with three ships he departed for Santa Elena where the wife of the *adelantado* was. When he came as far as the bar, there was a contrary wind; wherefore the royal officers asked him that he allow them to land that afternoon. With ten men they set out in a launch for the town. Soon the weather grew calm and a favorable wind arose so that the general took to sail and left the royal officers on land. Next day, in the morning, these set out in search of their general and not finding

him where they had left him, sailed along the coast as far as the bar of San Mateo which from that point is connected with Santa Elena by means of a channel, so that one does not have to go out to sea.

They arrived at a town, the first of the land of Guale, where they landed, leaving four men in the launch. They did not know that the country was in a state of rebellion. When they entered a hut, these royal officers and soldiers were killed by the Indians who had made a sudden inroad upon them.⁷ Afterwards they killed those in the launch. The general arrived at Santa Elena and when he was informed that the Indians had rebelled, he dispatched a tender with thirteen soldiers to search diligently for the royal officers. When the soldiers arrived, it was late.

Having placed themselves at the mouth of a channel near the town of Guale, they saw the Indians making great fires, which among them is a means of giving signals. Within an hour of their arrival, the soldiers saw twelve canoes full of Indian warriors coming to the assistance of the town. Thus the soldiers knew that the royal officers as well as the militia who had gone with them, were dead. The Indians invited the soldiers to land, promising them chickens and women.

At this, the soldiers returned to Santa Elena with one man less, whom they put on land because he was a spy. So with this one there were thirty-six dead all told. They arrived near the fort at night, and because the sea-breeze was contrary, they left the tender in a river and went to the fort by land. But before they arrived at a quarter of a league away, they saw a great number of fires; also a number of Indians dancing, by which they understood that the fort was encompassed.⁸ They came to the town and the fort. At the news that the royal officials and those who had gone with them, had perished, there resulted great confusion and weeping which the people made over them with notable feeling.

The following day, the general sent Captain Solís and nine soldiers to overrun the island, to see what Indians were abroad. The Indians, who were in ambush, sent one of their

men forward to skirmish with the soldiers; then the rest came out and there killed them. They also came near the fort so that for forty-five days they advanced twice a day to assault it. The general realizing that the Spaniards were being harassed, and that there was a lack of hempen fuses which they made from bed-sheets, determined that all the people who did not belong to the military, should embark and go to St. Augustine. He remained with sixty soldiers and burned the fort. The general made use of a stratagem in this fashion: while he was asleep, the women, as if by force, put him on board ship. (A notary of his land has given testimony of this.)⁹ The soldiers were in the parrel apportioning those who were to remain. From the poop the governor said to them that the women had forced him to embark and that all should come on board ship. This they did in a hurry, leaving their property to the pillage of their enemies. Hardly had they lifted anchor when a multitude of Indians came running to the fort and began to pillage it on a grand scale, destroying all the artillery in the fort. The Spaniards arrived at St. Augustine where Velasco left in his place, as governor, Gutierre de Miranda.¹⁰ Then Velasco went to Spain to give to the king an account of what had happened and to ask for help. With him he took seven chests of the annual subsidy. In Spain he was apprehended and examined as to the reason of his coming as well as concerning his resolution which resulted in the destruction of Santa Elena.

At this time there arrived above the bar of St. Augustine, a French galleon called *El Príncipe*.¹¹ This ship came, damaged by the armada which Don Cristóbal Eraso brought. It remained anchored for three days, half a league from the bar. Knowing that Santa Elena had been depopulated and that artillery had been left there, the sailors went to the bay. A league before coming to the bar, the ship ran into a sand bank where it was destroyed. The mariners were not able to save a thing, not even the food. While the Indians were going hunting, they discovered the men and made an assault upon them

until they surrendered. The Indians divided them up as slaves among the *caciques* of Guale and Escamacu.

NOTES

V

¹Father Oré appears to be making use of documentary evidence on Indian affairs in Florida. Relative to the Escamacu massacre of which Father Oré subsequently treats, Mary Ross writes: "Sometime before that disaster Solís, the commander at Santa Elena, had unwisely interfered with a local quarrel in Guale, even going so far as to execute some of the Indian leaders who had put to death a fellow chieftain, who happened to be a Christian. That drastic step had aroused bitter feelings in Guale against the Spaniards, and now, linked with the hatred that had arisen in Orista, it caused disaffection among the natives along the entire Georgia-Carolina seaboard." "French Intrusions and Indian Uprisings in Georgia and South Carolina (1577-1580)," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, VII (1923), 254. A brief account of these uprisings is given in a letter of Bartolomé Martínez to the king, Havana, February 17, 1577, in Connor, *Colonial Records* I, 239-241.

²The events and those of the two subsequent chapters are given in a document of the year 1577 entitled: Report of the Uprising of the Indians of Florida, and Loss of the Fort of Santa Elena, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 192-203. The soldiers twenty-one in number under Captain Moyano set out from Santa Elena for Orista in search of food. On the Indians refusing to provide the food, Moyano seized it, while the Indians retired and prepared for battle. Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 195. For variation of the details of this battle and its antecedents see, Connor, *Colonial Records* I, 192-203.

³Once more, history is entirely dependent on the veracity of Calderón as to what happened in Orista. He was the one survivor who reached Santa Elena to tell the story.

⁴The Indians killed three groups of Spaniards at this time. Captain Solís and eight soldiers were killed in July, 1576. Again five men, including an interpreter, were regarded as dead in Guale. On another occasion the Indians killed four officials and five soldiers en route from Santa Elena to St. Augustine. Letter of Bartolomé Martínez to the king, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 241.

⁵"Early in 1576 . . . the other son-in-law of the great adelantado, Hernando de Miranda, to whom the adelantado had left his title and offices in Florida, became, through the acquiescence of the king in 1575, the second regularly appointed adelantado and captain-general and governor of Florida, since actual colonization." J. A. Robertson, in Connor's *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, II, xxv-xxvi.

⁶In March, 1575, a petition from Hernando de Miranda who described himself as the husband of Doña Catalina Menéndez, was read by the Council of the Indies. In that petition Miranda asserted: "It so happens that the said Adelantado, in the *asiento* he made concerning the conquest of Florida aforesaid, *concluded the contract not only in his favor, but in mine, and so arranged that by the said asiento, I was to possess all what whereof he had had or did have possession.*" A Petition of Hernando de Miranda to the king, Madrid, March 7, 1575, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 117. On the strength of this original *asiento* or *capitulación*, Miranda received the governorship of Florida. Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 119.

⁷On this occasion the factor, Diego de Otalora, the treasurer, Pedro Menéndez the younger, the assistant accountant, Miguel Moreno, the notary and five soldiers were killed. Bartolomé Martínez to the king, Havana, February 17, 1577, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 241.

⁸A description of the loss of the fort at Santa Elena is given in the document entitled Report on the Uprising of the Indians of Florida, and Loss of the Fort of Santa Elena, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 193-203. Likewise, in the Letter of Bartolomé Martínez to the king, Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 241.

⁹Is Father Oré citing a document he saw or is he giving the testimony derived orally from the unnamed notary or from a third party? This *opéra bouffe*, if reliable may be looked upon as the first feminine *coup d'état* perpetrated in what is now United States territory. Perhaps the story was put in writing to discredit Miranda all the more. From the circumstances of the rebellious Indians and the poor defense the Spaniards were able to offer it would appear that Miranda's recourse to so unheroic an act was quite unnecessary.

¹⁰When the visitador, Baltasar del Castillo de Ahedo arrived in Florida in November, 1576, he found Captain Gutierre de Miranda serving as lieutenant-governor of Florida in place of Hernando de Miranda. Baltasar del Castillo de Ahedo, Visitador to Florida, to his Majesty, Havana, February 12, 1577, Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 203-205.

¹¹The ship *El Principe* is mentioned in a letter of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the king, Santa Elena, October 21, 1577, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 269 and in a letter of Francisco Carreño, governor of Cuba to Philip II, Havana, December 10, 1577, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 337. The ship was wrecked in a storm at Santa Elena in December, 1576. Most of the men were slain by the Indians. The rest were retained as slaves.

VI

THE APPOINTMENT OF PEDRO MENENDEZ MARQUES TO THE GOVERNORSHIP OF FLORIDA; THE RELIGIOUS OF ST. FRANCIS WHO SET OUT FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE NATIVES; AND AN ACCOUNT OF JACAN.

In the year 1577, His Majesty ordered Pedro Menéndez Marqués, nephew of the *Adelantado*, to take with him infantry and rebuild the fort of Santa Elena, with the title of Governor of Florida and its provinces.¹ Marqués was then admiral of the galleons of the Indies' fleet and accountant of Florida. When the general arrived, he discussed the restoration of the fort of Santa Elena and took one hundred soldiers with him. These had many encounters with the Indians until the fort was built. From Santa Elena as a center, they went forth to burn the Indian villages and to inflict whatever damage they could. In one of these assaults, they killed and captured a hundred and twenty persons, while in the province of Guale they burned all the towns so that when the Indians saw their villages overrun and their people dead or in captivity they submitted, made peace and asked for religious who would instruct them in the things necessary for receiving baptism and embracing Christianity. Thus they went about straightening out matters and subduing the Indians.² The first Christian towns were Nombre de Dios and San Sebastián for so they named those towns which are near St. Augustine.³

In the year 1585 it became known that the English came to settle on the coast of Jacán.⁴ On receiving orders from His Majesty, General Pedro Menéndez left St. Augustine in a frigate and sailed towards Jacán to reconnoitre it and ascertain what he could about the settlement. So in the year 1587 he came near the place but encountered a tempest so dire that he was forced to put into harbor with great risk to himself.

He came to Havana and then set out for St. Augustine where he arrived in July. He and Juan de Texeda, captain-general of the army, agreed that the fort of Santa Elena should be reduced in favor of that of St. Augustine. On his arrival he soon carried this out.

This was done in view of the fact that the year before (1586)⁵ the corsair Francis Drake had burned the fort of St. Augustine by the aid of a great force of infantry and the artillery which he put on land; also because of the few people and the meager defense which there was in the presidio. Concerning this, a bugler who had gone over to him, gave him the information. During the time he was in the port, however, great damage was inflicted on him, such as launches that were sunk, and a number of Englishmen who were killed. One in particular was a person of note who was killed by a soldier, Luís Fernández. Him he killed with a single shot. Fernández is living today, very old and poor and with children. Drake had such feeling for him that he ordered a gun to be fired as a signal to depart. Drake left and returned to his course of piracy in which he was engaged. Much more damage would have been inflicted on him and a greater resistance given, had it not been necessary to give attention to repairing the damage which the Indians from the interior of Icaste and Caçacolo⁶ intended to do, namely, to rebel and to capture the women and children who were in safe keeping in the woods. The Indians intended to take these to themselves. In their councils they had already apportioned the women out according to the status of the women and Indians alike.

His Majesty considered it well to listen to the advice given him concerning the harm done and the expense which afterwards would have to be sustained in order to reconquer the Indians. Moreover, since the infantrymen were so few in the presidio, it was impossible to resist the great force of the enemy in a fort constructed of wood and sand, without hope of succor.

In the month of December, in the year 1587, there came from Castille, Fray Alonso Reinoso, of the Order of Our

Holy Father St. Francis, with fellow-religious, for the conversion of the Indians.⁷ These religious were stationed in the towns of Nombre de Dios and San Sebastián, in San Antonio and its district, in San Pedro and San Juan and in other places in their jurisdictions.⁸)

Some years before, at the request of General Pedro Menéndez Marqués, the same Fray Alonso de Reinoso entered Florida with the first companions he brought with him.⁹ There they were engaged in the land of Guale, in Tolomato, Tupiqui,¹⁰ Santa Elena and St. Augustine. Everywhere they began to gather abundant fruit by preaching and exhortation. A number of people were baptized and became Christians. In the beginning the missionaries notably lamented the situation, not because there were no Christians,—for there were Christians and at that not by force, but of their own free wills,—but because of those who were not, and these latter constituted the greater part of every town. These infidels persecuted the Christian Indians and held them as outcasts among them, offering them a thousand injurious affronts, which they suffered and which were turned into precious pearls for them. This persecution lasted twenty years. During this same period there were always Indian ambushes about the town, for when a soldier carelessly went out for wood, or to fish or hunt or for some other reason, the Indians immediately killed him, as has been told in previous chapters. To this end they employed their force and ingenuity so that no Spaniard, neither his crops nor his cattle should remain in the land. God wished, however, that this difficult situation be gradually straightened out and be changed to the desirable state of affairs that now obtains, namely that the Indians consider it an honor to be Christians; they even persecute those who are not and offer them affronts in such a manner that we religious find it necessary to become the defenders and protectors of the *Hanopiras*¹¹ among the Christian Indians. This term signifies a painted man because the pagans in greater part go about smeared and painted with a bright reddish color, and when this is lacking they paint themselves with soot and char-

coal. In this the Indians of Florida are similar to those pagans and barbarous Indians who live in the cordilleras of Peru. Both make use of arrows, but in Peru they go about clothed, or at least, are less naked than the Indians here. The Peruvians excel in being more warlike. But the Indians of Florida are not addicted to the vice of drunkenness, to which all the Indians, both of New Spain and Peru, are given.¹²

In the following year, 1588, at the end of the month of May, Captain Vincente Gonzales left from the port and presidio of St. Augustine. With Gonzales went the sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez Marqués and thirty soldiers and sailors in a long bark which had come from San Lúcar¹³ to Havana the year before as a dispatch boat. This boat was bought for the expedition to Jacán. The purpose of this expedition was to run along the coast up to the Bay of Madre de Dios, in order to try to obtain knowledge of and to reconnoitre the English settlement and fortification.¹⁴ After they made the journey along the coast, the party came to Santa Elena and found the Indians at peace; the same was true at the port of Cayagua,¹⁵ which they judged to be a good port. Then they followed the coast, having passed the cape of San Román.¹⁶ They spoke with the Indians but the interpreters whom they had brought along did not understand their language. They continued their journey, passing the Cape of Trafalgar¹⁷ and that of San Juan;¹⁸ likewise two other ports. Whereupon they arrived at the Bay of Madre de Dios de Jacán, in the month of June, in the year 1588.

The mouth of the bay is about three leagues wide,¹⁹ without shoals or reefs, and is more than eight fathoms deep. It runs northwest-southeast and forms a large round gulf. Between the entrance and the place where one reaches the mainland, it extends toward the west and the northwest for about three leagues. In the east-west direction, at the mouth, on the mainland, there is a good port which at its entrance has a depth of three fathoms.²⁰ A little less than two leagues from there, there is another port toward the northwest,²¹ where Captain Gonzales said he had landed when he brought the re-

ligious of the Society, whom Don Luís and his accomplices put to death, as has already been told.

Captain Gonzales said that on a plain which is beyond a ravine and where there was a group of pine trees, an altar had been erected and Mass had been said. From there he returned toward the east, where on the mainland of that area, but within the bay and near some small islands and an inlet, the *Adelantado* had been. It was there that the *Adelantado* finished the gunwales of two frigates in which he sailed for Castille from that place.²²

Thereupon they departed from the said port, and coasting along the shore of the mainland toward the north, they discovered another port which appeared to be a good one and of great depth. On the shore there was an abundance of large stone, while the cape of the land to the north formed a high headland. These three ports can be seen at one glance from the mouth of the bay; the last, however, only faintly.

As they continued to sail north, the land from the east jutted into the bay. It became narrower in such a manner that at its narrowest place, from the western shore whence it stretched toward the eastern part, it was two leagues.²³ After that they discovered coves and inlets as well as rivers along the western shore. Then they came upon a large fresh water river, which, where it entered the bay, was more than six fathoms deep. To the north there was very high land, with ravines, but without trees, delightful and free, which had the aspect of a green field and was pleasant to behold. On the south shore of this river the beach is very calm and is lined with small pebbles. Farther up on the south bank of the same river there appeared a delightful valley, wooded, and pleasant land which seemed to be fertile and adaptable to stock raising and farming. This river was located in latitude of 38 degrees. They named it San Pedro.²⁴

They continued to sail north along the western shore and passed the night in a small inlet under the protection of high and well-shaded land. The next day many Indians came to

the beach, and the one among them who appeared to have the greater dignity, wore a necklace, which seemed to be of fine gold. There they seized an Indian youth of about fifteen years of age.²⁵

Advancing farther, they discovered many other ports and important rivers which entered the bay from the western shore until they came to latitude 35²⁶ where they discovered mountain ridges which were very high and which ran in the direction of south-west, north-east. Still more rivers were discovered. Soon in the middle of the bay there appeared a small island²⁷ while along the western shore the depth began to diminish to such an extent that they could go no further. They found it necessary to turn eastward. In front of the island, the land was high and broken and well wooded. Near the island on the eastern shore there were shoals of greater or lesser depth. Sailing closer toward the eastern shore, they found a channel of great depth.²⁸ Continuing still farther north, they found that the hills began to encircle the view.

In different parts they found mouths of rivers and coves. Where this semi-circular bay ends, it is about as wide as the harbor of Cádiz.²⁹ More than two or three leagues, before they reached the terminus of the bay, they found that the water was fresh. That evening they were on the point of entering a river toward the north, north-west between some high hills and rocks.³⁰ At high tide the mouth was more than three fathoms deep. Because it was already night, at about a quarter of a league from there, they cast anchor. At dawn, there was low tide. It was almost a miracle that the bark remained between the rocks by which the river was enclosed from one side to the other. At great risk, and amid shouts and orders,³¹ it sailed forth as far as the mouth of the river which was clear. There they saw a small shad,³² dead and floating on the water, which was of no use. In a brook which came down between the rocks, some small trout were seen, like those of the mountains. This was the eve of the feast of St. John the Baptist, and out of devotion they called the river San Juan de las Peñas.³³

They went up to the sierra on the level place and beheld on the other side, another river, and together with it ranges of hills and rolling land.³⁴ Below in the fold of this range there was a fair valley with trees, with fertile and pleasing land. From the latitude of 38 degrees up to the end, there is found a great quantity of chestnuts and large walnuts as well as wild vines with bulky grapes. The same day they departed from that river and went along the coast toward the east at a good rate, where they discovered a very agreeable inlet,³⁵ thick with trees where many deer appeared. They entered it toward the north, and sailed as far as its extremity. Then they landed on a pleasant beach, below some small ravines. At that termination there was a quiet and pleasant valley, containing trees, without any craggy place. In it they found many deer. They killed one of these and made a feast of it on the day of the glorious Saint John the Baptist.

Captain Vincente Gonzales and the pilot Ginés Pinzón took the latitude which they found to be at about 40 degrees.³⁶ They had taken it also at the first port after they had entered the bay and there they found it to be at 37 degrees and 37 minutes.³⁷ On that same day, the feast of St. John, they left that end of the bay and sailed south along the western shore. In view of the fact that one of the Indians had been captured there (as mentioned before)³⁸ no Indian appeared along the western shore until the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul.³⁹ In the morning they crossed to the eastern shore and came to some small islands which are within view of the mouth of the bay. There they landed.

From that place to a spot farther on, and in view of the cove where the *Adelantado* had been, they steered for land, but because the water had little depth, they could not reach it. Many Indians both men and women came to the beach. When some came to the bark, after wading in water up to their knees, the Spaniards seized one of them and sailed away.⁴⁰ When they departed from the bay, it was evening. All that night they navigated toward the south with the help of a strong west wind. The same was true all the next day

till sunset. The wind, however, became too strong, and they were forced to unmast the ship. By rowing they came to the shore and interned at a bar of very shallow depth. Within the bar there was a large cove to the south, which at low tide remained almost dry. The view toward the north showed a great portion of the bay as well as a large arm to the northwest, while the land was thickly wooded. Also, along the coast, to the north, there appeared another mouth which seemed to be better than the one they had entered. That portion of the coast, for about a league, between one bar and another, is low and broken by sand. In the interior of the region where they were, there was a ship-yard, indicated by the presence of sloops, while on the land there were some remains of English barrels. Besides, there were other signs of debris, indicating that people had been there.⁴¹

The next day they again departed. They found the latitude to be $35\frac{1}{2}$ degrees.⁴² Continuing toward the south, they passed the three capes referred to before.⁴³ Then in turn they passed the ports of Cayagua, Santa Elena and the whole land of Guale until they arrived at the island of San Pedro which was then thickly populated with native Indians. There they found Fray Baltasar López who was beginning to gather abundant fruit in that mission. He had already baptized many Indians. By these, the navigators were well received and regaled according to what they had asked, for they arrived in great need of provisions.⁴⁴

After they passed the bar of this island, they returned to St. Augustine, in the month of July, in the same year, 1588. This trip of exploration and discovery, from start to finish, they made in a little less than a month and a half, according to this report, so exact and prolix, which was made by the said sergeant-major Juan Menéndez,⁴⁵ who at present is the royal treasurer in the city of St. Augustine.

Because the description of the Bay of Madre de Dios and of the ports with their latitudes, and of the directions of their explorations is so trustworthy and so necessary for the time when Your Majesty may be pleased to command that the bay

be cleared of the robbers who have occupied it and fortified it for thirty years,⁴⁶ it seemed well that I should dwell on it at some length.

This same information was obtained from what was learned at Havana, from a pilot, Pedro Díaz Franco,⁴⁷ namely, that the port which was referred to above as being at 35½ degrees latitude, and where the remains of the English barrels were seen, was the location of the English settlement. He reported further that they had taken him along on two voyages and that at that time, it had about three hundred men and as many women.

To the question why they had not seen the settlement from the bark, since they reached the place where the remains were, he answered that he was not able to see, since it was ten leagues from the port by the arm above the shore of the northern entrance. Another reason was that they tried to conceal their purpose until they should discover good land for settlement and fortification.⁴⁸

The same was said by David Glavid who was brought to the city of St. Augustine from Havana where he was forced to serve in the galleys. He said the English had brought him thither by force. But he said more: that they penetrated the interior for many leagues up a river and that a quantity of gold dust was obtained. This David Glavid who gave this information, said he was an Irishman.⁴⁹

Having obtained the account of the voyage from the captain and sergeant-major Vincente Gonzales and the one which the pilot Pedro Díaz Franco gave, General Pedro Menéndez desired to go to Castille, leaving in his place his brother-in-law, Juan de Posadas and taking with him his first cousin, sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez. But he encountered adverse weather and suffered a torn sail. This brought him in sight of Bermuda, Puerto Rico and Santo Domingo. Unable to make any other port, he arrived at La Yeguada⁵⁰ in dire necessity. Wishing to continue his voyage and to disembark at Cape San Nicolás,⁵¹ he was prevented by the lack of sufficient wind. Consequently he was forced to double the point of Mayci⁵² and

take the way of the old channel to Havana. From there he went to St. Augustine, whence he started out again for Castille on May 18, 1859. He entered the port of San Lúcar on July 5 of the same year accompanied by Fray Alonso de Reinoso⁵³ and the sergeant-major. He then went to court and gave an account to His Majesty of the discovery spoken of before.

He was told to return to Havana with four supply ships, with infantry, provisions, stores and munitions and from there to take the galleys and merchant ships, as it would seem fitting to him, and go to St. Augustine. There he was to station the new troops and take the seasoned ones with him to 35½ degrees. He was to enter St. Augustine with the galleys and merchant ships since the bar has little depth, and send the supply ships to the bay. And after reconnoitering the lay of the land, he was to erect a fort in the place which to him appeared most suitable. He was to leave there the best equipment he could afford with three hundred infantry men. Moreover, he was to give orders to the *alcaide*⁵⁴ in charge, that at the most opportune time, either he or his lieutenant should explore the interior in order to reconnoitre the land, and satisfy themselves as to the topography and to find out whether there were any mines.

Such was the understanding. Nevertheless, this order was not carried out because soon another was issued whereby General Pedro Menéndez was instructed to go to Tierra Firme with two lateen-rigged vessels, and in these, he was to bring to Castille the silver, gold and pearls belonging to His Majesty.⁵⁵ This he did, leaving the Bay of Cádiz on May 16, 1590. He returned with the treasure, entering the port of Viana de Camina⁵⁶ on September 4, of the same year. The sergeant-major, Juan Menéndez, took the news of the arrival to His Majesty of glorious memory to the Escorial, while the treasure was taken to the mint at Segovia.

In the year, 1591, Pedro Menéndez was placed in charge of the frigates belonging to the fleet of the Indies, as well as of the carriage of the silver from Tierra Firme and New

Spain. Having gone to Nombre de Dios,⁵⁷ he returned to San Lúcar de Barrameda in the month of January, 1592.

In the following year 1593, His Majesty was informed that in the presidio of St. Augustine the people were refusing obedience to the governor, Gutierre de Miranda, who was governing the presidio by virtue of a royal *cédula*, in the absence of General Pedro Menéndez. News was likewise received that Rodrigo de Junco was drowned at the bar of San Mateo. He had come to govern by virtue of a royal *cédula*. Likewise the captain, Juan de Posadas, was drowned. He had come to take the place of the treasurer, because of the death of Juan de Cebadilla. When the king received this news, he ordered General Pedro Menéndez to go to the presidio of St. Augustine and put down the uprising against the governor.

But he had hardly gone, when sickness overtook him so that he was forced to ask the king to send another person who was satisfactory, in his place. So there were provided for Florida, a governor and captain-general, a treasurer and accountant who were respectively: Domingo Martínez de Avendaño,⁵⁸ Juan Menéndez, the sergeant-major, and Bartolomé de Argüelles.

The Indian who had been apprehended on the eastern side of the bay, died in the port of San Pedro, of anger and melancholy. The one who had been first apprehended, went to Castille. He accompanied the general in a lateen-rigged vessel, but on the return voyage, he died at Viana of the small-pox. Being already a Christian, they buried him in the convent of Santo Domingo. He was a linguist and spoke much about the excellence and fertility of his land and about the gold that was in it. This, in his native tongue he called *tapisco*.⁵⁹

Some years later, in the month of June, in the year 1609, the governor, Pedro Ybarra,⁶⁰ sent Captain Francisco Fernández de Ecija in a light vessel with infantry and sailors, together with the major-pilot of Florida, Andrés Gonzales, to reconnoitre the English settlement which was said to be established on the bay, and which was thought to have a large fortification as well as a great number of soldiers and settlers.

This expedition entered the mouth of the bay. After having recognized a large ship within, in the region of the islands, they retraced their steps, without having been able to detect anything else and then returned to St. Augustine with the report.⁶¹

In the month of June, in 1611, there passed by the presidio Don Diego de Molina and an ensign named Marco Antonio and an English pilot in a caravel, in which they later arrived at the bay. When the three landed, the English seized them and said that they were sending an English pilot who would take the caravel further in, which according to the information they received was the first port on the mainland within the bay. The Portuguese on the caravel apprehended the English pilot, took to sail and went with him to Havana, leaving the three aforementioned friends with the English.⁶²

Since the fortification and the settlement were so strong, as it is understood, great strength of arms will be necessary to dislodge them. According to the view of him who entered and saw the situation of the bay, which we have described, it will be necessary to enter it with three sturdy galleons and a dispatch-boat, two galleys, and two long barks, built with care and light in structure. For it will be necessary to go in and come out with ease, the various parts and places which it might be fitting to investigate within the bay. The galleons, dispatch-boat and galleys must be well supplied with artillery, arms, munitions and supplies, manned by about a thousand soldiers, artillerymen, the necessary sailors and an engineer. Likewise there is needed a quantity of armor, of sail cloth and cotton, well basted. With these preparations one will be able to reconnoitre with this end in view and obtain definite information concerning the fortification, settlement, and military strength of the enemy. Moreover with the galleons and galleys, one will be enabled to obstruct the enemy's commerce and trade with England, vexing and disturbing the settlement at the same time on land by skirmishes and ambuscades. For within the bay there are favorable places, ports and rivers to serve these purposes, and to erect a fortification wherein to

lodge themselves and thence to go out and dislodge the enemy. By this means that seizure of territory will come to naught in a short time, as well as the other which they are now fortifying in latitude of 33 degrees in the island of Bermuda.

The enemy's ships arrive from England with practical security, there being no one to resist them or to thwart their designs. From these two ports of Jacán and Bermuda,⁶³ boats of the enemy set out every year and run along the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica and Santo Domingo. They rob what they can, without our being able to punish them. With their booty of cow-hides, wine and other things which they can lay their hands on, they pillage and leave again by way of the Bahama Channel, with which they are as familiar as the pilots who have made the journey to the Indies ten or twelve times. Then they enter into one of these haunts, whence they return to England, rich from the robbery they were able to commit, leaving the owners poor and bereft of their money and merchandise, which they carry away. All this without alleviation to the women folk who waited for it from the returns, from the sale of leather. Above all the reputation of the Spanish name has been shamed by this silence and continuous suffering for so many years.⁶⁴ So many corsairs are entering the unfortified places, that they take as much as they please, either bargaining for it or taking it by force of men and arms. Conditions are such that without a fleet of galleons, no journey is safely taken for any part where frigates and large sea-going vessels carry on trade. These are not in danger of attack from corsairs during the winter season when the corsairs return to the two ports. It is then that the ships prefer to appear in order to avoid the danger of enemies, robbers and corsairs.

NOTES

VI

¹Pedro Menéndez Marqués ruled in Florida first as governor *ad interrim* from 1577 to 1578 and then permanently

from 1578 to 1589. *Vide* Spanish Governors of Florida, 1565-1763, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, xxxiii.

²From Santa Elena, October 21, 1577, Pedro Menéndez Marqués wrote to King Philip II: "Your Majesty expressly commands that. . . I should strengthen this fort of Santa Elena and the others there may be in these provinces, because it so befits your Majesty's service and the safety of the rest of the Indies." Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 265. Even while Menéndez was rebuilding the fort at Santa Elena he and his soldiers were unsafe because of the presence of some Frenchmen from the *Principe* in the interior. Letter of Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the king, St. Augustine, June 15, 1578, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, II, 78-83. Indians from Guale and Santa Elena had come to treat with those in the neighborhood of St. Augustine in the attempt to get them to destroy the Spaniards in the latter city.

³Nombre de Dios is described as a quarter of a league from St. Augustine. *Vide* Nota de las misiones de la provincia de la Florida, in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos de la Florida y la Luisiana siglos XVI al XVIII* (Madrid, 1913), p. 132. (Hereinafter cited as *Documentos históricos*.) Documents of the mission period refer to it as "dos tiros de mosqueta" away from St. Augustine to emphasize its propinquity. It was ruled by Doña María, the *cacica*, who was married to a Spanish soldier, Clemente Vernal. Doña María Cacica and Clemente Vernal, her husband, to the king, St. Augustine, Nov. 30, 1592. Archivo General de Indias, estante 87, cajon 4, legajo 4. Florida State Historical Society photostat. Hereinafter the photostats of this collection will be abbreviated in this manner: (A. G. I. 87-4-4) F. S. H. S. phot. San Sebastián according to Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors* (*Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin* 73, Washington, 1922), p. 328, is described as "a town on an arm of the sea near St. Augustine, destroyed about 1600 by a flood." (Hereinafter, Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*.)

⁴Here reference is made to the English settlement at Roanoke. Roanoke and Jacán were contiguous. *Cf.* Log of the Jacán expedition.

⁵Drake and his armada appeared at St. Augustine about two o'clock in the afternoon, Friday, June 6, the day after the Feast of Corpus Christi. On the following day artillery was landed from the English vessels, and placed behind the sand dunes from which vantage point the wooden fort of San Juan de Pinello was bombarded. Menéndez Marqués had less than a hundred able and equipped soldiers to defend the fort; so he and his officers decided to abandon it. Drake had from 1,500 to 2,000 men according to the Spanish reports. The women and children had been moved to safety in the woods. It was thither that Menéndez and his soldiers fled after abandoning the fort. Drake burned the fort, the church, and in fact, the entire pueblo. He remained a week careening one of his ships. Thereupon he left for the north, and carried away the Roanoke colony to England. He missed the Spanish fort of Santa Elena passing it most probably by night. Documents relative to Drake's attack on St. Augustine from which these facts are taken are the following: Pero Menendez Marq.s por cartas de 17 de Junio y de 16 de Jullio de 86. [Spain] (A. G. I. 2-5-2|12) F. S. H. S. phot.—Fernández de Quiñones to the Casa de Contratación, San Cristóbal de Havana, [July 2, 1586] (A. G. I. 42-1-8|3) F. S. H. S. phot.—Royal officials to the king, Havana, July 4, 1586. (A. G. I. 54-1-34, No. 15) F. S. H. S. phot.—Informacion sobre la perdida del fuerte de San Augustin de la Florida [Cuban officials to the king, July 30, 1586] (A. G. I. 40-3-1|23) F. S. H. S. phot.—probanza echa e la ciudad desto agustin de la florida antel capitan franco salazar por comision del muy ylle senor po menendez marquez gouerdor y capitan general enstas prouyas por su mag. sobre la benida estrago y daño que hizo el corsario franco drag ingles. [St. Augustine, August 12, 1596] (A. G. I. 54-5-14) F. S. H. S. phot.—Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the Casa de Contratación, August 30, 1586. (A. G. I. 42-1-8|3) F. S. H. S. phot.

‘Icaste, probably the same as Casti, “given by Laudonnière as a Timucua town.” Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, p. 324. The *cacique* of Caçacolo belonged either to the area of San Juan del Puerto or San Pedro (Cumberland Island). *Vide* Juan Menéndez Marqués to Fray Miguel Avengozar, St. Augustine, June 7, 1606, in Ruidíaz y Caravia, *La Florida su conquista y colonización*, II, 498. (Cited herein after as Ruidíaz, *La Florida*).

‘These were not the first Franciscans who came to Florida after the departure of the Jesuits. The first friars to enter Spanish Florida (barring those who accompanied the earlier expeditions) were members of the group who came to Santa Elena in 1573. *Vide* A Fragment of the Description of the Voyage of Pedro Menéndez Marqués along the east Coast of Florida, in 1573, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 331. The translation stating that there were “nine new religious,” however, is a slip. The Spanish text on page 330 merely states there were “*nuevos Religiosos*.” When these friars heard of the death of the *adelantado*, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who had supported them, they left Santa Elena, “because of lacking that support.” Diego de Velasco to the king, St. Augustine, August, 1575, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 143. Between 1573 and 1583 the missionary work of the friars was getting under way but the sum total of activity was rather meagre. In 1578 there were but two friars in Florida and these were chaplains of the forts at St. Augustine and Santa Elena. The respective friars were; Fray Alonso Cavezas and Fray Francisco del Castillo. *Vide* The Visitation made by Alvaro Flores of the Forts of Florida, St. Augustine and Santa Elena, 1578, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, II, 143 and 163. *Cf.* likewise Pedro Menéndez Marqués to the king, St. Augustine, June 15, 1578, in Connor, *Colonial Records*, II, 87. The religious of the group brought to Florida by Father Reinoso on the occasion mentioned by Father Oré are given in metrical form by the poet-historian of the group, Fray Alonso de Escobedo, in a poem entitled *La Florida*. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, XXVIII (1927), 49.

El uno fué Reinoso, el otro Vigo,
Hojeda, y fray Antonio, y Fustamente
Corpa, Manzano, Torquemada, Oviedo
Gomez y López, y Ruíz con Escobedo.

⁸The San Antonio here referred to was probably on the mainland of Georgia, west of Cumberland Island and within the jurisdiction of Mission San Pedro on Cumberland Island. There was another district known as San Antonio in the Fresh Water District (Agua Dulce) in the region of the St. Johns River and Lake George southwest of St. Augustine. San Juan stands for San Juan del Puerto at the mouth of the St. Johns River twelve leagues north of St. Augustine.

⁹When Father Reinoso came to Florida in 1857 it was his third visit to the peninsula. He was in Florida prior to 1583. In that year he returned to Spain seeking recruits for the mission field of Florida. The religious who set out with Fray Reinoso on May 6, 1584 were: Fray Pedro de Aguilar, Fray Pedro de Arias, Fray Juan de Santa Ana, Fray Francisco de la Cruz, Fray Rafael del Castillo, Fray Juan de San Nicolás, Fray Alonso Pérez, and Fray Gáspar de los Reyes. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, IV (1915), 134, and XXVIII (1927), 47.

¹⁰Tolomato and Tupique were not far distant from each other. The former was opposite Sapelo Island, the latter also on the mainland, near the southern terminus of Guale or St. Catherines Island. *Vide Bolton Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia*, (Berkeley, 1925), map opposite p. xvii.

¹¹*Hanopiras* according to Dr. Swanton is a compound word having as elements *ano*, signifying "human being" and *pira*, "red." Thus Father Oré's use of the word as painted man or "red human-being" is correct. Letter of Dr. Swanton to Dr. J. M. Cooper, Washington, March 19, 1936.

¹²Father Oré occasionally alludes to conditions in Peru of which country he was a native. Since no drink of Florida was strong enough to cause drunkenness, the natives were protected by nature from falling into vicious drinking habits.

This was one vice against which the missionaries did not have to contend.

¹³San Lúcar is a shortened form for San Lúcar de Barameda. It is on the Atlantic at the mouth of the Guadalquivir River. It was one of the auxiliary ports of Seville, not far from Cádiz.

¹⁴Drake's assault on St. Augustine coupled with the widespread belief in the Caribbean that the corsair was founding an English settlement on the Atlantic coast, led to this voyage of exploration. Instead of founding a colony Drake actually took back to England the one English colony along the coast, that of Roanoke. Of this, however, the Spaniards were apparently unaware.

¹⁵Cayagua, Charlestown harbor. Maps of the United States Geological Survey to the scale of $\frac{1}{500,000}$ were used in locating the various places enumerated in the following notes.

¹⁶San Román, now Cape Romain, in 33°, in South Carolina.

¹⁷Trafalgar, now Cape Hatteras, in 35°. Cf. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 375.

¹⁸San Juan as described by the geographer, Velasco, was in 36°; therefore between Cape Hatteras and the entrance of Chesapeake Bay.

¹⁹Between Capes Charles and Henry.

²⁰The present port of Norfolk, Virginia.

²¹Reference is made probably to what is now the mouth of the York River or perhaps to Mobjack Bay.

²²This was in the year 1572.

²³Chesapeake Bay narrows to about this distance between Calvert and Dorchester Counties just above the Patuxent River. However, this is hardly the spot indicated by the log, for the Potomac is indicated in 38°. On the other hand the Chesapeake can hardly be said to narrow to two leagues anywhere before one reaches the Potomac. The distance from Smith Island in the Chesapeake to Smith Point on the Virginia mainland is about three leagues. Smith Island lies opposite the mouth of the Potomac. This may be the place referred to in the log.

²⁴The Potomac River enters Chesapeake Bay at exactly 38° latitude.

²⁵This Indian was taken from the western shore of Chesapeake Bay above the Potomac, probably from St. Marys County.

²⁶This evidently is a scribal error or false transcription for 39° latitude. The Potomac was given as lying in 38°.

²⁷Between 38° and 39° there are a number of rivers and inlets running into the Chesapeake from the western shore. The interpretation of "small island" depends to some extent on what the navigators considered a small island. The 39° parallel runs directly through Kent Island, and Kent Island would be small to Spaniards acquainted with islands the size of Cuba, Hispaniola and Jamaica. South of Kent is a much smaller island, called today Poplar Island. The log refers most probably to Kent Island.

²⁸As a matter of fact the channel of the Chesapeake runs along the eastern part of the bay.

²⁹Roundly speaking Chesapeake Bay terminates in a sort of semicircular head, into the middle of which flows the Susquehanna River. It is not this part, however to which the log refers but to the extreme terminus which is tongue-like in shape and runs to the northeast to a point where is situated a small town called Northeast, in Maryland.

³⁰Beyond doubt the reference is to the Susquehanna which flows from northwest to southeast into Chesapeake Bay several leagues from the extreme terminus of the bay. Moreover the Susquehanna is flanked by hills.

³¹The literal meaning in Spanish as given in the log is: "Boat here, guard, there!" signifying the commands that were given by the officers for the Spaniards considered their position dangerous. They were in danger of being wrecked or at least marooned.

³²Shad are obtained from the Susquehanna.

³³The date was June 23. The Feast of St. John the Baptist falls on the following day. Here one has an instance of how so many places in the Americas were named. The com-

bination of some incident or physical characteristic with that of the day of a saint often determined the nomenclature of the country.

³⁴Several small streams running in a southerly direction run somewhat parallel to the Susquehanna in Hartford and Cecil counties, Maryland, which flank the Susquehanna.

³⁵Here reference is made most probably to the terminus of the Bay running in a northeast direction.

³⁶The terminus of Chesapeake Bay is only a little more than $39\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ latitude.

³⁷Reference is made here to what is now the harbor of Norfolk. The 37° meridian runs through Hampdon Roads.

³⁸*Cf.* note 36.

³⁹The feast of Sts. Peter and Paul occurs on June 29.

⁴⁰This Indian was taken from the eastern shore of the Chesapeake.

⁴¹The coastline described here is the broken island coast of North Carolina. The Spaniards were probably in the region of Albermarle Sound. Roanoke Island flanked by Roanoke Sound and Croatan Sound, lies southeast from the mouth of Albermarle Sound. Protecting Roanoke Island from the ocean is a long narrow sandy island called Bodie Island. "In the interior of the region where they were, there was a ship-yard, indicated by the presence of sloops, while on the land there were some remains of English barrels." Here it is clear that the Spaniards detected the remains of Roanoke but did not go to the spot. As will be brought out later in the text the Spaniards thought the settlement was still inhabited and wished to conceal their hostile designs from the English until Spain was ready to plant her own colony there.

⁴² $35\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ is between Roanoke Island and Cape Hatteras.

⁴³Capes Trafalgar (Hatteras) San Juan and San Roman.

⁴⁴San Pedro or Cumberland Island was called Tacatacoru by the Indians. *Vide* Memorial on four Forts of Florida presented to his Majesty by Captain Antonio de Prado, Madrid, November 16, 1569, Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 291. It was about twenty leagues from St. Augustine. In a letter to Fray

Miguel Avengoçar, Commissary General of the Indies, Juan Menéndez Marqués on June 7, 1606, recalled his voyage to Jacán. Referring to the ship's calling at San Pedro on its return to St. Augustine, he wrote that he found Fray Baltasar López making progress with the Indian mission there. "Y aviendo por el año de 88 ydo al descubrimiento de la baya de la Madre de Dios del Jacan, y tomar lengua de la poblacion del ynglés, juntamente con el Capitan Vincente Gonzalez, por orden del dicho General, y aviendo llegado de buelta á San Pedro, bí que avia cantidad de yndios cristianos y que con muestras de aficion y devocion acudian á oyr misa y la doctrina." Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, II, 498. Juan Menéndez Marqués mentions Fray Baltasar López on p. 497.

⁴⁵Juan Menéndez Marqués wrote, he made such a report to the royal officials. Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, II, 498. It was probably this written account that Father Oré inserted bodily in this *Relación de los Mártires*.

⁴⁶Here is an indication of the time this *Relación* was written by Oré. If Drake's attack (1586) is taken as the starting point of Oré's thirty years the year of the writing would be most probably the beginning of 1617. The narrative of the *Relación* ends with the events of December, 1616. If the discovery of what was thought to have been the inhabited settlement of Roanoke is the *terminus a quo* of Father Oré's thirty years, then the *Relación* was written in 1618 or 1619.

⁴⁷The name of Pedro Díaz appears in a document of the year 1589 entitled: hauana ano 1589 Relacion quel g della Inbia de la parte donde los yngleses estan poblados en la costa de la florida en altura de 36 grados $\frac{1}{4}$. (A. G. I. 54-1-34) F. S. H. S. phot. Díaz was captured by the English under Richard Grenville, near Bermuda, while he was en route from the Indies to Spain. Later Díaz was taken to Roanoke.

⁴⁸*Cf.* note 42.

⁴⁹David Glavid, usually spelled Glauin or Glavin, was an Irishman who was captured by the English under Richard Grenville (whom the Spaniards called Richarte Canpouerde) in 1584 after the former had left the port of Nantes, France,

in a merchant vessel. The English brought him to Jacán or Roanoke where he remained with the colony until it was taken back to England by Drake in 1586. Glavin was forced to accompany a second expedition that set out for the reestablishment of Roanoke a short time later. The English went by way of Puerto Rico, where Glavin made his escape. From then on he continued in the Spanish service. He was a soldier at St. Augustine from 1595 till at least 1600. The above testimony was given by Glavin himself to Governor Canzo of Florida, in 1600. *Vide* Relacion de la Tama y su Tierra, y de la Poblacion de Ingleses, in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, pp. 155-157.

⁵⁰La Yeguana in Española.

⁵¹Cape San Nicolás, the most northwestern point of modern Hayti.

⁵²The Point of Mayci is the extreme eastern point of Cuba.

⁵³Father Reinoso went to Spain no doubt in the hope of obtaining more friars for the Florida mission field. Various *cédulas* from the end of the year 1589 to the beginning of the year 1590 expressly mention friars destined for Florida.

⁵⁴*Alcaide* in this connection means commander. *Vide* Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, II, 496.

⁵⁵These facts relative to Jacán and Tierra Firme are narrated in a letter of Juan Menéndez Marqués to Fray Miguel Avengoçar, June, 1606. Ruidíaz, *La Florida*, II, 495-96.

⁵⁶In all probability, either one of two ports known today as Vianna do Castillo and Caminha in Entre Minho E Duoro province in north-east Portugal bordering on Spanish Galicia. At this time Spain and Portugal were united under Philip II of Spain.

⁵⁷Nombre de Dios in this case must be distinguished from the Nombre de Dios in Florida. The former refers to the famous port on the Isthmus of Panama.

⁵⁸Avendaño received the news of his appointment at Cádiz, February, 10, 1594. Letter of Domingo Martínez de Avendaño to the king, Cádiz, February 10, 1594. (A. G. I. 143-4-2) F. S. H. S. phot.

⁵⁹*Tapisco* is an Algonquian word whose radix means metal.

⁶⁰His name is usually given as Pedro de Ybarra. He governed Florida from 1603 to 1609.

⁶¹The *Relación* made by Ecija on this occasion declares the voyage from St. Augustine to Jacán and return occupied the time between June 21 and September 24, 1609. By this time the English had been settled in Jamestown for two years. Within the Chesapeake, "a vessel of unknown nationality was seen in the bay. Observing smoke signals in the direction where the English 'Presidio' was supposed to be, he [Ecija] consulted with his officers and in view of the rumor of an approaching hostile fleet of seven vessels, the lateness of the season, and the condition of his own ship, concluded to return." Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, I, 450.

⁶²Father Oré's remarks are correct but they are so scant that it is almost impossible to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion as to what the whole story is about. First of all, Don Gaspar Ruíz de Pereda, governor of Cuba, sent out a ship ostensibly to search for an English vessel supposed to have taken on board ammunition from a Spanish vessel stranded at Buenos Aires. This ship sent out by the governor, carried Captain Diego de Molina, Ensign Marco Antonio Perez, and Francisco Lembri, called the "English pilot of the Navy." Alexander Brown, *The Genesis of the United States* (New York, 1890), I, 511-512. This ship left Havana, June 2, 1611, and arrived at St. Augustine on the 8th, where it remained for eight days. Thence it proceeded to Jacán and the Chesapeake and entered the bay. Within, the Spaniards found a ship anchored which they thought was the English ship they were looking for. Don Diego de Molina, Marco Antonio, and Lembri went ashore and were captured by Englishmen lying in ambush. The master of the ship who had remained on board according to Molina's orders, sent a sailor ashore to find out about the fate of the three captives. The English asked to see the master of the ship. The sailor replied that he would be willing to take one of them aboard to see the master, which he did. This Englishman now on board the Spanish ship was a pilot named

Clark. He told the Spanish master that he wished to take the Spanish ship into the English fort (Jamestown) at the same time inviting the master as well as the rest of the crew to come ashore, promising them good treatment. This the master would not do until the English would produce Diego de Molina. When this was not promised, the master held Clark, nor would he permit him to return to shore.

The next day negotiations were entered into for the exchange of prisoners. The English wanted the master of the Spanish boat to come on shore first. The Spanish master declared that unless the English handed over the three prisoners, he would fight them, to which the English replied that the Spaniards "might go to the Devil. At this time it was seen that they [the English] took away Francisco Lembri with much violence and that from behind the English Captain he made signs that they should push out to sea, crossing his arms and hastening to get away. Thus they returned to the Caravela and discovering that a small vessel was coming out from within the river which falls in on the right hand, they resolved to be off to sea and to return to the Havana, where they arrived on July 20 [10], without anything of importance having occurred or befallen them on the way, with all the people they took out except Don Diego de Molina, Marco Antonio Perez and Francisco Lembri, who remained in the power of the English." Alex. Brown, *The Genesis of the United States*, I, 517-518. The sailor who seized Clark was probably the Portuguese mentioned by Oré. The Spanish ship had gone from Lisbon to Havana and thence to Virginia. This would explain the presence of Portuguese on the boat. Moreover, at this time Portugal and Spain were united, which union lasted till 1640.

By November 15, 1611, Philip III wrote to the Spanish ambassador at London, telling him to request James II to release the Spanish prisoners in Virginia. Brown, *op. cit.*, I, 524. By February 13, 1613, Clark had been brought to Spain. Philip III was willing to exchange him for the prisoners in Virginia. Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 603. Diego de Molina on May 28, 1613 sent

a letter from Virginia to the Spanish ambassador containing much information as to the progress of the English colony. He stated that Marco Antonio had died fifteen months previously and explained that the "English sailor" who was the third captive "claims to be from Aragon and really no one would take him to be a foreigner." Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 650. The bearer of Molina's letter was a Venetian. Molina wrote it in cipher. "If you [Velasco] have the Key to my cipher you can write to me in the same cipher; but this letter goes between the soles of a shoe, where it is sewed in, and thus I trust to God that I have not done wrong in writing in this manner." Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 651. Clark died in Spain prior to October, 1614. Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 738. Molina was still in Virginia in 1618, Brown, *op. cit.*, II, 950.

⁶³Jacán and Bermuda were strategically situated to cause much damage to Spanish shipping. The Spanish treasure ships did not sail directly from Havana to Cádiz and San Lúcar but went along the coast of Florida and the Carolinas, turned directly east by way of Bermuda and the Canaries and then made for Spain.

⁶⁴Father Oré's description of conditions in the Caribbean is entirely correct. A substantial amount of documentary material directly or indirectly deals with the inroads made by the corsairs in that region. The attempts of Spain to retain the Caribbean as a *Mare Clausum* were never wholly successful, despite the vigilance of the coast guard vessels (*guardacostas*) and the fleet known as the *armada de Indias*.

VII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF FIVE MARTYRS AND OF THE SUFFERINGS OF ONE CONFESSOR, RELIGIOUS OF THE ORDER OF OUR HOLY FATHER ST. FRANCIS, IN FLORIDA.

In the year 1595, by order of His Majesty, King Philip II of glorious memory, and at the request of the captain, Domingo Martínez de Avendaño, Fray Francisco de Arzubiaga, Commissary-General of the Indies,¹ sent twelve religious to continue the conversion of the Indians of Florida and to teach them Christian doctrine. This work had already started, as I said before. These religious had been chosen from the province of Castille. They embarked from Spain on the feast of the glorious Doctor,² St. Bonaventure, July 14. Fray Juan de Silva, a preacher and a very religious and prudent man was chosen as superior and commissary.³ His companions were the following:

Fray Blas de Montes, priest, confessor⁴ and a very spiritual religious, was a man of incredible acts of penance, for he fasted during all the Lents of Our Father St. Francis,⁵ as well as on the three days of the Great Lent.⁶ Likewise, he fasted on all Saturdays of the year on bread and water; on the vigils of Our Lady and on those of some of his favorite saints, he fasted to the extent of not even taking a bite, but only water when thirst weakened him, eating neither bread, nor fruit nor any other things. During Holy Week, he fasted taking only three refectations: on Sunday and Tuesday of Holy Week, he subsisted on bread and water; while on Holy Thursday, out of certain consideration, he ate what the community offered. He never knew a cell or a bed, but only the choir. After becoming a priest, he wore no other clothes but the habit, without a tunic;⁷ moreover he wore a hair-shirt inside. When he was on a journey, on going out of the town, he took off his

sandals and put them in his sleeve, even though the roads would be covered with snow, a half yard deep. This happened many times because, since he was an exemplary religious, they frequently sent him out.⁸ This religious was of good build and from the better class of society. In him there reigned a spiritual joy by which all were consoled. He was loved by all. He experienced many corporal and spiritual difficulties in Florida which were caused by a certain person whom, by his advice in confession, he hindered from accomplishing his immoral designs. For this the person wished to take revenge on him, by bringing against him testimony which was unbelievable in so holy a man.

When he fell ill, the Duchess of Infantado,⁹ knowing his needs (she knew him well and was conversant with his virtues) wrote to him that he should return to Spain and sent him a royal decree from the King¹⁰ as well as an obedience from his prelate, on the strength of which he went to Albacete,¹¹ his home, to see if his protracted illness would be cured in the air of his homeland. There he died a holy death. They buried his body in the church where he had been baptized and his grave is held in great veneration.

Fray Pedro Bermejo, priest and confessor, a native of the town of Tendilla,¹² is a religious well thought of and known for his fervent charity toward the sick. Wherefore they made him infirmarian in Guadalajara. He fasted nearly all through the year, and on many days took only bread and water. He was most zealous in the things pertaining to our rule and holy poverty. This he also observes now, for in the visitation I made of the convent of Bayamo,¹³ I found him to be the guardian of that house. He used very few things, only those which were absolutely necessary. All the people consider him a holy and apostolic man. He has always been much given to the practice of mental prayer. In Florida he has been very useful among the Indians because by means of his teaching, and more so by his exemplary life, he brought many pagans to the knowledge of the true God.

Fray Miguel de Auñón, preacher of the province of Castille, a native of the city of Zaragossa, of a well known family, and of noble blood, a man of great spirit, grace and voice, was loved and cherished by all with whom he dealt. He was considerate towards all and so he was master of the wills of all, both the religious and seculars. He was much loved by the Indians, as will be seen afterwards in his martyrdom. At the request of the convent and city of Havana to have him preach there, he embarked for that city, but was unable to reach it in over forty days, although it is a short journey of six or seven days. I, myself, have made the journey twice.¹⁴ They were unable to round Cape Cañaveral,¹⁵ a trip of two or three days. Seeing their inability to make headway, they returned. The reverend preacher said: "God did not send me to the city of Havana, but to this land to instruct the Indians; here I intend to remain till death, because I have to receive therein some great favor from God; thus I believe that my inability to proceed farther with the journey has not been in vain." With this he soon prepared himself to go among the Indians.

Fray Fernández de Chozas, preacher of the province of Castille, a religious of great zeal in working among the Indians during the whole time he was in their midst, teaching and instructing them, attended to the things of their souls and their government. In his provident way, he looked out for them so that they would have flocks and cultivated fields. He taught them the art of singing, and for this he was greatly esteemed by them.¹⁶ So he determined to go into the interior, as far as the Indian towns of the province of La Tama¹⁷ where he was well received by them. As soon as he returned, he was sent to Spain with the news of the religious who had suffered martyrdom.¹⁸ Since then he has held the honorable office of *Custodio*¹⁹ of the province of Castille and with this title he went to the General Chapter in Rome in the year 1612.²⁰ He returned with the office of Commissary-General of Jerusalem to solicit and administer the alms of the Holy House.²¹ Afterwards he was guardian at Madrid.

Fray Pedro de San Gregorio, a religious of great sanctity and very recollected, went forth from the house of recollection and holy convent of Castañar²² of the province of Castille. He was a man of interior as well as exterior mortification, and a religious of great devotion. He was a native of the town known as Casa de Uzeda.²³ He fell sick in Puerto Rico. He had come with the other religious, but remained on the island to get well. Not being able to obtain passage to Florida, he returned from there to Spain.

Fray Pedro de Auñón, a preacher, native of the town of Auñón,²⁴ of the province of Castille, fell sick at San Lúcar, so he remained in Spain to his own sorrow and that of his companions.

Fray Francisco Pareja, of the same province of Castille, also a native of Auñón, is a man of great sanctity and of incredible zeal for the salvation of souls, as his works and writings which he has composed and has had printed in the language of the Indians, give testimony. In this he surpassed the rest. In the beginning the Indians offered him many affronts but he overcame them all with much patience and perseverance by abiding in their midst, teaching them the law of Christ and defending them from the molestation of the Spanish soldiers. By these deeds and through the power of his example, which he always gave, he overcame the harshness and cruelty of the Indians, changing them from wolves to sheep. Because of the virtue that was known to be in him, he was given the offices of guardian, definitor and *custodio*;²⁵ and in the visitation which I made,²⁶ in order to celebrate the first provincial chapter of this province, I found him to be a very holy man and most worthy of this election. Thus it fell to his lot to become provincial which office he holds at the present time, with sanctity and integrity, not sparing at his advanced age, the labor connected with the journeys in Florida.

Fray Pedro Ruíz, priest and confessor, is a religious person who has always given good example among the Indians and Spaniards. On account of this he was given the offices

of guardian, *custodio* and commissary²⁷ of this custody before it was erected into a province. In order to express their satisfaction with his services, the prelates in Spain have given him the title of "Father of this Province."²⁸ In the first provincial chapter we held, he was named guardian of the convent of Havana. He is from the province of Castille, a native of Valdesoto, in the jurisdiction of the town of Uzeda.

Fray Francisco de Avila, a young priest of the province of Castille, and a native of the city of Toledo was a man of great spirit who bore up with great difficulties, as will be seen, when we treat of his captivity among the Indians.

Fray [Francisco de] Verascola, a priest of the province of Cantabria,²⁹ a Viscayan, was a religious endowed with goodness and simplicity, and who afflicted his body with great penances, about which we shall treat later on.

Fray Pedro de Viniegra, a lay brother, of the province of Castille, was a very humble religious and given to prayer. He was never remiss in diligent attendance at his exercises. He gave himself to the learning of the Indian language to such an extent that he understood it and knew it thoroughly. He preached with zeal and with the spirit of an apostle; moreover he was a zealot for the cause of holy poverty which he keeps with such perfection that he has never used more than one poor habit without a tunic.

Seeing his humility, his gift of language which he acquired, as well as the grace and spirit of his preaching to the Indians, the fathers realized that it was a shame that he was not a priest so that he could bear the Indians' confessions and say Mass, for he had the requirements to be a priest and to administer the sacraments. So the fathers of this custody petitioned the Father Commissary of New Spain to grant this favor. This he did by giving permission to have him ordained. Of him we have made one of the best ministers of the Indians who have appeared in our times.³⁰

Fray Francisco de Bonilla, a native of Talarrubias³¹ of the province of Castille; was sent to New Spain with some

messages as soon as he arrived. There he stayed until he came back, an old man, to be present at our chapter.

These religious were well received by the governor and by all the soldiers of the presidio as well as by the Indians, with great manifestations of joy. Fray Francisco Marrón was *custodio* and prelate of the religious. He was a preacher of more than eighty years of age.³² He died twenty-two years afterwards in the convent of Havana, and I buried him. When at the hour of his death, I asked him how long he had worn the habit, he answered more than eighty years and that he was over a hundred years old. He died like a Christian and religious. He was one of the religious who declared and gave a true account of the martyrdom of the five religious whom the Indians killed. This he gave, compelled by obedience. His account will accompany this narrative. He was a companion of the martyrs and God permitted him alone to remain to tell the how, the when and the wherefore of the death of his companions.

There were six other religious of those who had come before with Father Reinoso.³³ One of these was Fray Baltasar López, of the province of Burgos who suffered much among the Indians, and who knew their language well. They had condemned him to death three times but God miraculously delivered him from them. He resided on the island of San Pedro, the chief place of the Timucuan. Their language is used extensively. He had fostered the *cacique* from childhood.³⁴ Almost all on that island are Christians.

Fray Pedro de Corpa, priest and confessor of the province of Castille, who was in the province of Guale, knew the language well. He experienced much toil with the Indians because the time had not yet come for them to esteem the honor of being Christians; nevertheless, by his good example and perseverance, he converted them.

Fray Blas de Rodríguez, priest and confessor of the province of San Gabriel,³⁵ was a good religious and was versed in the Indian language. We shall treat of him further on.

The lay brother Fray Juan de San Nicolás, of the province of Santiago,³⁶ was the greatest worker you ever saw. He continued in this up to his old age, which he has now attained. He lives in the convent of St. Augustine and is much given to prayer. He is a person of great simplicity in whom the whole presidio has very great faith. People obtain his worn-out and torn underclothing and use them for swaddling clothes for their infants, because they look upon them as relics. Everything he was taught in the Order, he keeps and observes to this day, as if he were a novice. He is so far removed from the things of this world that he appears not to have been born, nor created in it. Two or three times the devil has beaten him at the unseemly time when he was going to trim the lamps. The devil left him injured, although by prayer, the brother always overcame him. His exercise, after having worked all morning in the garden, and after a meal, again in the afternoon, is to clean and trim the lamps with the greatest care. At night he watches in prayer for the living and the dead; and when praying for them [the dead] he is accustomed to throw holy water over their graves. He is also engaged in asking for bread through the streets. This he does with great devotion. Nor does he ever offer an excuse but rather tends to this matter with the greatest obedience. This holds also for other things in which the guardian engages him. He progresses in the practice of humility and exercises it as if he were a recently admitted novice. He is signally eminent in the things pertaining to virtue, keeps perpetual silence and his few words are always of great edification and serve to cause devotion in those who speak and converse with him.

The brother Antonio de Bádajoz,³⁷ of the province of San Gabriel, knew the language of the Indians of Guale well; of him we shall soon speak when we treat of his death.

Fray Juan de Silva, with all the other religious prayed to God, our Saviour, after having celebrated the feast of our Holy Father St. Francis, to give to each one the fate which He deemed most fitting for the conversion of those souls whom they came to seek, from Spain. Fray Francisco Marrón, guar-

dian and *custodio* of the religious, assigned to each one the place and district in which he was to instruct the Indians, (the governor, Juan Martínez de Aveñdano himself being present) so they separated and departed from St. Augustine and entered ten towns, each one to the place which fate and the will of his superior determined.³⁸ They were separated from one another at a distance of three or four leagues. Moreover, there were bad roads, swamps and waterways, so that travelling was rendered difficult both by land and by sea.³⁹ They served in the missions realizing great fruit among the Indians, occupying themselves in preaching, baptizing and administering the other sacraments.

Two years after the friars arrived in Florida, namely in the year 1597,⁴⁰ the Indians of Guale, instigated by the devil who is adverse to all good works, seized upon an occasion [to revolt]. One of the fathers⁴¹ would not permit an Indian youth,⁴² who was a Christian and heir to the caciquedom, to have more than the one wife to whom he was married. Because the priest reprimanded him and commanded him that since he was a Christian, he should live as a Christian and not as a pagan, [he rebelled]. He was told that according to the Christian law, he could not have more than one wife and at that no other than the one to whom he was married.⁴³

This *cacique* and two other Indians, like him, given to the same immoral practice, went into the interior among the pagans, without saying anything or without obtaining permission as they were wont to do on other occasions. After a few days they returned at night with many other pagan Indians, painted and smeared with red paste, and with feathers on their heads. This among them is a sign of cruelty and slaughter.

That night when the Indians arrived neither the priest nor those in the town knew anything about it. When, in the morning,⁴⁴ the Indians opened the priest's house, they found him there praying; then without waiting to give any explanation, they killed the priest with a stone hatchet which they call *macana*, but which is known as *champi* in the language of the Incas of Cuzco. This happened at Tolomato, the chief place

of that district. The name of the religious whom they killed, was Fray Pedro de Corpa.

When this religious was dead, the Indians began to exchange women in order to give rein to their sensuality and unlawful pleasures.⁴⁵ A command was given that the head of the dead religious be placed on the end of a lance and set up at the landing place, and that the body be taken by two Indians to the woods, to be hidden so that the Christians would not find it. Hence it is that the body has not been found.⁴⁶

Afterwards they sent notice to the isle of Guale, which was near,⁴⁷ commanding the *cacique* to kill the two friars who were in his territory. When the *cacique* heard of this, he was much grieved, nor did he wish to fulfill the command. Therefore he warned the lay brother of what he had learned about the Indians' deeds, advising him that he and the Father Commissary go to the isle of San Pedro. Moreover the *cacique* offered to give him a bark and Indians who would take them thither, even though it would be at the risk of their lives. The lay brother, however, did not wish to believe him, and so did not choose to advise Fray Miguel de Auñón of the warning. Nor did the *cacique* dare tell the priest, both on account of the shame which the situation revealed, and because of the great love he had for him.

The *cacique* advised the lay brother again the next day, but not being able to believe such a thing, the brother reacted the same as the first time. On the third day, the Indians of the conspiracy came and told the *cacique* that they were coming to have him kill the friars; otherwise they would have to kill the *cacique*. The *cacique* answered he had no reason for killing the friars and that if they cared to overlook them, and would leave them free, he would give the Indians as much as he had. The Indians agreed to answer that they had come to kill and that they intended to carry out their intention. The *cacique* then went to Fray Miguel and with tears told him what was happening and that he could not rescue them and that he and his people were going to the woods to weep for them as if they were their own brothers.

When Fray Miguel and his companion saw this, they turned to prayer to await the critical hour of death. He said Mass and afterwards spent more than four hours in prayer. Presently the Indians sacked the house, then came first upon the lay brother and gave him a blow with the hatchet or *macana*, from which he soon died. They did not dare approach Fray Miguel, owing to the respect they had for him. But a pagan Indian came and gave him a heavy blow with a *macana* and stunned him. All the faithful of the town came, wishing to defend and rescue him, but another pagan Indian came from behind and gave him another very heavy blow which cut his brains to pieces.⁴⁸ This pagan Indian, within a few days, gave way to despair and hung himself from a height with the cord of his bow. This caused great wonder among the Indians. The Christian Indians buried the body [of Fray Miguel] at the foot of a very high cross which he himself had erected. Six years afterwards when [the Spaniards] came to look for his bones, they found them at the foot of the cross, as the Indians had told them.⁴⁹

In the town of Tupiqui,⁵⁰ which is near there where Fray Blas Rodríguez resided, the Indians came and said to him: "We have come to kill you; you have no other alternative but to die." Then the priest asked them to allow him to first say Mass and after that they could do with him as they pleased. He said Mass, while the Christian women as well as some men came to mourn over him. Then he divided among them the little he had for his own use. Four hours having passed after he said Mass, he held an argumentative discourse with all his [spiritual] sons whom he had baptized and instructed in the law of God. Seeing that they had rebelled against him, he said to them: "My children, for me it is not a difficult thing to die, for death of the body will come although you be not the instrument of my death. Every hour we must expect it; at the end we shall have to die. What hurts me is your loss, and that the devil has been able to make you commit so great an offense against your God and Creator; it hurts me, likewise, that you are so ungrateful for the work

which I and the other fathers have undertaken for you in order to teach you the way to heaven." Then he said to them, weeping: "Look, children, now you have time, if you wish to depart from your evil intention; God our Master is merciful and He will forgive you." But that sacrilegious people paid no attention to his counsel and tears, but rather they despoiled the relics and vestments of the church and everything the father had in his cell. Owing to his requests and petitions, they held him for two days without killing him. During this time he prepared for death with the best disposition and care he could, like a good religious and Christian.

When these days had passed,⁵¹ they gave him a heavy blow with a stone hatchet, thereby breaking his brains to pieces. They threw his body to the birds, for the Christians did not dare to bury him. But the birds did not come to feed on him, while a dog that came upon him, immediately turned away. This was seen by all. An old man, a Christian, took the body secretly to bury it in the woods. Because this good old man has died we do not know where the friar's bones lie.⁵²

Father Avila was at his mission⁵³ whither the Indians went with the set determination to kill him. They arrived at night and since they found him already retired, they knocked at the door, feigning they were bringing a letter from his prelate. He replied that they should give it to him in the morning. (He was already fearful, knowing that they had killed Father Corpa.) The Indians insisted that he open the door to which he answered that it was not time to open till morning, and that in God's name they should depart for he had already retired. Then the Indians commenced to open the door with violence, which in fact they finally succeeded [in doing]. The religious, seeing himself in this danger, placed himself behind the door, and since there was no light, they rushed in all at once to rob his poor abode. In the avaricious spirit in which they came, they did not encounter the priest for he had fled from their fury, hiding himself in some rushes. They looked for him carefully and found him for they were able to see by the light of the moon. They shot at him with three arrows

and left him for dead. With one, they struck him in the right hand, with another in the shoulder, while a third hit him in the thigh. Soon there came to him an Indian, feigning charity, who took off his habit and said to him: "Take off this habit which is full of blood and I shall wash it for you."

The Indian took it off and put it on himself, so that the religious was naked. Nevertheless, the Indian was of use to him, in that he was a young chieftain, for he then liberated him from the fury of the others, and so the religious was not killed. The chieftain persuaded the Indians that they should take the religious along with them and give him a more cruel form of death, or that he should remain a captive among them to serve them, since they had already left him for dead in the rushes. They then tied his arms and took him off as a captive to the pagan towns by means of Indians who guarded him.

It is incredible what this religious experienced in the year⁵⁴ of his captivity among those barbarians. He was naked in a climate which is as rigorous as that of Madrid, nor did he have anyone to heal his wounds, nor did he have any cloth for bandages to cover or bind them. God healed them miraculously or mercifully. After this the Indians determined to burn him, tied to a stake which was to serve as a firebrand, with a great quantity of twigs and sticks which they had brought together for that purpose. In this predicament, an Indian woman came forth and freed the religious from the pillar, for she had a son among the hostages, held by the military. She declared: "This man I must have in place of my son, for he will have to bring my son to me; and if I deliver him from death, the governor will not order my son to be killed." At this, they delivered him from death after which he was somewhat more free.

Great was the persecution he sustained at the hands of the boys who many times came short of killing or hanging him in view of the fact that when the religious had taught them Christian doctrine and reading, he had sometimes struck them. The Indians made him serve as a slave in the community house. He suffered great hunger, but wherever he

went they gave him something because he asked for it for the love of God. They made him carry wood on his shoulders and ordered him to guard their huts⁵⁵ and the cultivated maize fields from the jackdaws that pilfered from them.⁵⁶

Although in this brief eulogy, the death and martyrdom of four religious have been told, together with the great sufferings of Father Avila, I have deemed it well to include the very narrative of Father Avila which he left written in his own hand, before he returned to Spain, and which remained in the hands of Father Marrón. After his death [Father Marron's] it was kept in the archives of the convent of Havana.⁵⁷ In this narrative, after having briefly narrated the death of his companions, he continues the story of his imprisonment and captivity and at the same time recounts minutely his own sufferings. He writes as follows:

NOTES

VII

¹The Franciscan commissary-general of the Indies residing at Madrid, and maintained at royal expense, was, after the minister-general of the Order, the chief executive officer concerning friars who went to the Indies. His dealings were directly with the Crown. The king gave permission for friars to go to the Indies, whereupon the commissary-general was notified; he, in turn, appointed a commissary to recruit friars for a definite field in the Indies. The transportation of the friars from their friaries to the port of Seville, as well as their maintenance in Seville until embarkation was taken care of by the royal treasury. Their passage to the Indies, their daily maintenance in Florida, the purchase of vestments and chalices, and the construction of churches and friaries, were likewise provided for by the munificence of the Spanish king. Documentary evidence is rich in the matter of details as to the manner in which the friars were maintained at royal support.

²St. Bonaventure is one of the doctors of the Catholic Church. The honor of doctor is given to those saints who by their copious writings have elucidated and propounded Catholic teaching and who have enhanced Catholicism by their learning. During life St. Bonaventure was a doctor also in the academic sense. He taught at the University of Paris contemporaneously with St. Thomas. In ecclesiastical circles St. Bonaventure is known as the Seraphic Doctor.

³The friar who was commissioned by the commissary-general to recruit friars for the Indies was known as a commissary. Sometimes the commissary accompanied the friars to the Indies, at other times he merely conducted them to the port of embarkation.

⁴In former times, more generally than now, priests were designated as confessors, preachers, etc., according to the special type of priestly work committed to them. Such distinctions are foreign to modern American practice and in fact most countries of the world.

⁵Besides the Church Lent which lasts from Ash Wednesday till Easter, St. Francis required his friars to keep the Seraphic Lent from November 2 to December 24 inclusive. A second Lent known as the Lent of the Epiphany is not obligatory. The more zealous of the friars, however, kept this Lent as religiously as those of obligation.

⁶The great Lent or the Church Lent *par excellence*, which lasts from Ash Wednesday till Easter Sunday.

⁷The clothing of the friars is determined by the Franciscan Rule. Besides the habit, the friars are permitted to wear beneath, a tunic made of coarse material. The tunic is not obligatory.

⁸Since the Franciscans are mendicants, they are dependent on alms in one form or another for their subsistence. Exemplary friars were sent about the town or city *ostiatim* to beg for the food and other necessities of the community.

⁹A duke or duchess *del Infantado* signifies a person of royal blood to whom a portion of territory has been assigned.

¹⁰This royal *cédula* was signed at Caravanchel, July 1, 1598. The *cédula* stated that the commissary-general of the Indies consented to Father Montes' return to Spain owing to his illness in Florida. The governor of Florida was commanded to place no obstacles in the way of Father Montes' return to Spain. (A. G. I. 154-1-18) F. S. H. S. phot.

¹¹Albacete is the principal town in the province of the same name in southeastern Spain.

¹²Tendilla is located in the province of Guadalajara, south-east of the city of Guadalajara.

¹³Bayamo, Cuba. In 1609 Florida and Cuba were joined into a single custody or minor province and in 1612 both formed the province of Santa Elena of Florida.

¹⁴Father Oré made two visitations in Florida, in 1614 and in 1616. In the Memorial del P. Fray Luis Jerónimo de Oré a S. M. pidiendo misioneros para la Florida, donde aumentaban las conversiones, he states, he visited Florida twice "con peligros y trabaxos de la costa de la Florida por ser más tempestuoso la canal de Bahama y estar a la boca della la ciudad y puerto de S. Agustin." *Vide López, Relación histórica*, II, 45.

¹⁵Cape Cañaveral which retains the same name today is thirty leagues or about ninety miles south of St. Augustine. It was a treacherous part of the coast that proved disastrous to many a Spanish mariner.

¹⁶This fact of his teaching the Indians singing is brought out in another source, the poem *La Florida* by Escobedo, in López, *Relación histórica*, I, 32-33:

Hubo por su venida gran contento,
Cantando a punto de órgano canciones,
Que el Padre Chozas, con su buen talento,
Les daba cada día dos lecciones, . . .

"Great happiness prevailed as a result of [Father Chozas'] return [from Tama]. [The Indians] sang their songs to the accompaniment of the organ; for Father Chozas, musically talented, had given them two lessons each day."

¹⁷La Tama was in the interior of Georgia. In the company of Fray Francisco de Verascola, a soldier and a number of Indians, Father Chozas explored the interior of Georgia in 1597 just before the Guale outbreak. He was commissioned to make this trip of exploration by the governor, Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo and by his religious superior, Fray Francisco Marrón. *La Florida* in López, *Relación histórica*, I, 26-35, and Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, pp. 143-145.

¹⁸Father Chozas was sent to Spain by order of Father Marrón despite the fact that the governor wanted him to wait until royal permission had been obtained. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia* (Chapel Hill, 1935), p. 191. When the governor complained of this procedure to the king, the latter wrote to Canzo that in similar circumstances the friars were not to be impeded from going to Spain. Carta del gobernador de la Florida Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo a S. M. San Agustín 23 de febrero de 1598. (A. G. I. 54-5-9) Modern number, 244. Lanning transcript.

¹⁹*Custodio* appears to have been the title given to a friar who represented a province at a general chapter.

²⁰The general chapter of the Order elects a minister-general of the Order. Each province sends its delegate. At this chapter, held at Rome in 1612, Florida became a province.

²¹Since the days of St. Francis the holy places in Palestine have been under the care and protection of the Friars Minor. Alms for the maintenance of the holy places are gathered by commissaries throughout the world who send the proceeds to the Holy Land.

²²Castañar is in Estremadura.

²³It was from such houses of recollection that the Re-collects in France and the Reformati in Italy, reform branches within the ranks of the Franciscans, developed. H. Holzapfel, O. F. M., *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1909), pp. 334-336. Houses of recollection were friaries in which was maintained a stricter observance of the rule, coupled with severer mortification and

greater recollection from the distractions of the world. *Vide* Dominic Devas, O. F. M., *The Franciscan Order: an Essay on its Spirit and History* (New York, 1930), p. 42.

²⁴Auñón is a town in the province of Guadalajara in north-eastern Spain.

²⁵The title of guardian is given to a local superior especially of larger houses, while that of definitor to a member of the provincial's council. The *custodio* was the chief administrative officer in a *custodia* or custody, a province in the process of formation. When the custody became a province the chief administrative officer was called a provincial. Father Pareja obtained this latter office in December, 1616.

²⁶In the year 1616. Father Oré's prior visit in 1614 was made in fulfillment of a commission to visit the friars officially but not to hold a provincial chapter.

²⁷Commissary is a term used in various ways. A friar delegated for a special task may be designated a commissary. This occurred a number of times in early Florida. A commissary, likewise, recruited friars in Spain (which Father Ruiz did in 1610), and provided for their economic needs.

²⁸Father of the Province or *Pater Provinciae* was a title given to some of the definitors who were perpetual definitors, and who enjoyed the right of perpetual vote in chapter. Holzapfel, *op. cit.*, p. 424.

²⁹He is referred to as the "Cantabrian Giant" in Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 15.

³⁰Fray Pedro Viniegra after ordination was stationed at Nombre de Dios and ministered at Tocoy and Antonico in the Fresh Water District. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 146.

³¹Talarrubias is located in the province of Bádajoz, Spain.

³²Prior to his coming to Florida, Father Marrón had seen veteran service in Peru, Mexico and Guatemala. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 12-13.

³³That is in the year 1587. Cf. note 7, ch. vi. Only three names of this group mentioned by Father Oré correspond with those mentioned by Father Escobedo in his poem, *La Florida*. These are Fathers Corpa and López, and Brother Antonio de Bádajoz. Fray Blas de Rodríguez and Brother Juan de San Nicolás are not mentioned by Escobedo.

³⁴This Father López himself asserts in his letter to the king on December 12, 1599. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 11.

³⁵The province of San Gabriel became a province of the Discalced Friars in the seventeenth century. Fray Juan de la Trinidad, *Chronica de la provincia de San Gabriel* (Seville, 1652), p. 6.

³⁶The province of St. James or Santiago de Compostella in Galicia.

³⁷Bádajoz is on the Guadiana River in southwestern Spain.

³⁸Governor Avendaño himself accompanied the religious to their *doctrinas* or missions. Información hecha sobre las conversiones de la Florida, por orden de Fray Francisco de Marrón, Vicario Eclesiástico en esta region, in López, *Relación histórica*, II, 8.

³⁹In January, 1597, Father Marrón who had visited the religious in their missions declared that they were hindered from properly performing their religious ministrations, owing to a lack of vestments, chalices, missals, bells, statues and oil-stocks. Información hecha sobre las conversiones de la Florida, etc. in López, *Relación histórica*, II, 8.

⁴⁰In September, 1597.

⁴¹Father Corpa who was stationed at Tolomato on the mainland opposite Zápala Island. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, 15.

⁴²The Indian youth Don Juan or Don Juanillo as he is sometimes called.

⁴³The practice of polygamy proved a serious obstacle to the whole-hearted adoption of Christianity in Guale. That this was the real underlying reason of the revolt is clear from

the several documents on the revolt. Various Indians who testified at the trial held at St. Augustine in 1598 stated that the friars specifically commanded the Indians to live with but one wife. That the religious died because they upheld the Christian law of monogamy is clear from a letter of the friars written to the king in 1612. * "Although the Indians did not martyr the friars for the faith, it is certain that they martyred them because of the law of God which the religious taught them." It was polygamy versus monogamy. "This is the reason they gave and which they attest to today, since they realize their sin. . . . It is known in this land that since the death of those holy religious this people has become docile and mild-mannered attaining the point [of subjection] they show today." The definitors of the custody of Santa Elena to the king, October 16, 1612. (A. G. I. 54-5-17) F. S. H. S. phot. A contributory cause of the revolt may have been the fact that Father Corpa in conjunction with Father Rodríguez removed Don Juan from the exercise of the office of *cacique* because of his un-Christian mode of life. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 82.

⁴⁴September 13, 1597. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 84.

⁴⁵According to Barcía, Don Juan delivered a fiery speech to the Indians who had participated in the murder and told them that since the Spanish governor would punish them as severely for the death of one friar as for the death of all, they might as well kill the others. Then they proceeded to act upon his words. *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 170.

⁴⁶When Governor Canzo in the company of Fray Blas de Montes and soldiers went to Guale after the friars had been killed, he found the church at Tolomato burned, and in the brush recovered an altar-stone and a statue of St. Anthony of Padua. 1598-Testimonio de lo sucedido en la lengua de Guale en el viaxe que hizo Gonzalo mendez de Canço governador y Capitan general de las prouinçias por el Rey nuestro Señor a aueriguar y castigar la muerte de los Relixiosos que mataron en aquella lengua. No. I. San Agustín de la Florida

12 de enero de 1598. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23) Modern number 224. Lanning transcript. (Cited hereinafter as 1598-Testimonio, etc. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

⁴⁷Guale or St. Catherines Island was to the northeast.

⁴⁸The date of the death of these two friars was September 17. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 89. Soldiers under Governor Canzo discovered the burial place of the two martyrs, exhumed them and re-buried them in a decent manner. The bodies were horribly mutilated and they were in such a state of decay that at the time they could not be taken to St. Augustine. A modest marker was placed on the graves so that the bodies could be located at a later date. 1598-Testimonio, etc. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

⁴⁹The reference here is to the time when the bones of the martyrs were taken to St. Augustine. According to Barcía, this occurred in 1605. *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 176.

⁵⁰Tupiqui was close to Tolomato, three leagues to the north on the mainland. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 15.

⁵¹His death occurred on September 16. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, p. 87.

⁵²Soldiers under Canzo found the buried corpse of Father Rodríguez, his head split in three or four places. They disinterred him and buried him anew. 1598-Testimonio, etc. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

⁵³At Ospo on Jekyl Island. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 15.

⁵⁴More precisely ten months.

⁵⁵The Spanish text of Oré as edited by López, here and in several other places has *sábanas* which in the circumstances used would mean orchards. In all probability the correct reading of the original manuscript was *cabañas*, huts or cabins and more specifically, the *garitas* where the grain was stored. Father Avila's work was to keep away the birds from pilfering the grain fields and the *cabañas* as well. Fray Juan de la Trinidad, of the province of San Gabriel, in Spain declared that

the *Relación* of Father Avila came into his hands. In giving a digest of the account of Father Avila, Fray Juan declares that one of the captive's duties was "que guardase las cabañas." *Chronica de la provincia de San Gabriel* (Seville, 1652), p. 717.

⁵⁶In the above paragraphs Father Oré has been anticipating the story of Father Avila's captivity mentioning certain events which will be retold in the *Relación* of Father Avila himself.

⁵⁷Here one has an extraordinary history as to the fate of an important document. In giving the reader the genesis of events in the history of the document, Father Oré showed his historical scholarship. Cf. note 55 as to the further fate of the document.

VIII

NARRATIVE OF THE GREAT HARDSHIPS WHICH FATHER AVILA ENDURED DURING THE YEAR AND A HALF IN WHICH HE WAS CAPTIVE AMONG THE REBEL INDIANS, AND OF THE DEATH AND MARTYRDOM OF FATHER VERASCOLA, A NATIVE OF VIZCAYA.

To relate once more how God delivered me from the hands of the Indians, I declare as follows: When they found me among the rushes where I had hid myself, they shot arrows at me. Then they held me for the period of an hour, leaving me with an Indian to guard me while the Indians were busy sacking and robbing the church and house. Soon there came the *cacique* who had liberated me, with three or four Indians, and at that hour of the night, they took me to their town which was two leagues from there, over a very poor road. But since I was wounded, I could walk only with great difficulty; yet they urged me on, pretending they were taking me to their town to cure me and to provide for me. Finally, perhaps about twelve o'clock at night, we arrived where they threw me among some common reed-grass in the hut until morning. Some guards were placed over me, and I passed the time amid great annoyance. When morning arrived, the *cacique* came, despoiling me of my habit which I had, leaving me my undergarments. He said the habit was very bloody and he wanted to wash it. In the meanwhile I wore a small coat which he left with me. This is the clothing in which the Indians go about. So I was like an Indian with regard to my exterior, while all of them made fun of me and mocked me.

The *cacique* convoked all the boys and women, saying to them: "Come kiss the hand of your father; receive his blessing." Since we had taught them this good custom and mark of good breeding, the *cacique* commanded that they practice this custom on me in mockery. After the Indians

had satisfied themselves by this amusement and had made fun of me, the *cacique* ordered that two Indians should tie my hands with a rope and take me to Tulafina,¹ which was the first mission or post where I had been. It was distant six leagues through swamps and mire so that one had to go through them up to the hips. Moreover the Indians said that I had declared that the land of Tulafina was bad and that the Indians were very bad. "Therefore," said the *cacique*, "I wish you to go there; and there they will treat you as you deserve." So with great cruelty they soon took me there, without considering my wounds. And since the roads were so bad, I fell at almost every step and stuck in the mire. For them it was the occasion of so much satisfaction and delight that they could not hide it, for they made fun of me with gestures and grimaces, and played with me by slapping me on the neck. If God had not given me sufficient strength and relief, this journey would have been enough to bring on death, for I was sick and wounded. But God who wished to liberate me from their hands gave me sufficient strength to bear it.

At about four in the afternoon, we arrived at a very large town called Ufalage. This town is on the way to Tulafina. Many Indians, men and women, came out to meet me, all of whom were painted, and who made a great show and mockery of me. In this manner they took me to their hut where they made me sit down on the ground, while they all stood around me laughing at me and ridiculing me. I was very tired and hungry and on this account I would have preferred to remain there that night. This, however, was not to their liking, so that night they took me to Tulafina because they alleged that the Indians there were awaiting me. Tulafina was distant two leagues from there. The journey was over a worse road than the previous one and in many parts, the water reached to the waist. Nevertheless, God gave me strength, and before nightfall we arrived at Tulafina. A little before arriving there we encountered a great number of painted Indians, their faces smeared with red earth, and fitted out with bows and arrows. They seemed to be numberless and looked like

demons. They all came out to receive me, and amid great mockery and fun, led me to their habitation. When I arrived at the door of the hut, I found a great quantity of dry palm. They told me that the palm was to make a fire to burn me. And on entering, I found they had erected a large cross, while on one side there was a large whip which was a green rod with many branches which they use when at first they make the blood flow. On the other side of the cross was a rod to be used as a firebrand having a pine branch before it with the head-skin of a small animal. They commanded me to sit down at the foot of the cross. Thereupon they tied my hands; my arms being already bent because of the arrow shots in the shoulder, arm and hand. They also tied my neck strongly to the same cross so that they almost hung me. When this was done, a *cacique* came, who was the commander of the dwelling, and said: "Do you know what this is? The cross which is erected here, is an invention of yours so we shall have to place you on it. The torch is to be bound to your body to burn you; the whip is to beat you; and this skin which is here, is a sign that you have to die. Tomorrow all this will be put into execution." Then an Indian dressed in a chasuble, went about in mockery, mimicking the Mass. Another Indian came and placed a book before me and when I did not reverence it, a principal *cacique* came and with the book struck me on the head and cheek with a blow so hard that it left me senseless.²

I was stark naked for they did not even let me have a poor coat. Another Indian came with a cord, one of those with which we gird ourselves,³ knotted and doubled, and gave me three or four strokes so hard that I was left like dead. While they were engaged in this, a *cacique* arose and carried a little bit of burning wood and threw it on my back. Since I was tied, I could not throw it from me very quickly. It left a deep mark on my body and caused me much pain. Soon the Indians began to dance around me as if they were passing in review before me, and if it struck someone's fancy, he gave me a heavy blow with a *macana*. In this manner they

danced for three hours, while they made a thousand incantations. When they were tired of dancing, they sat down a little and when I saw there was a little quiet, I asked them if they, for the love of God, would have the kindness to untie my arms for a little while, (for they were in a bent position) and though they were going to kill me, I asked them to show this mercy to me. Just then they did not wish to heed my request, but they soon began to treat among themselves about showing me some mercy. They remembered that there was in the city of St. Augustine, a boy who was the heir to the caciquedom and they reasoned that if they would not kill me, they could sometime exchange him for me.⁴ Others said that those who had entered that hut were immune from death; still others said that the daughter of the sun had appeared to them and had told them that they should not kill me. This is one of their practices of witchcraft.

Finally, confronted with all these opinions, they decided to let me live, and so a *cacique* arose and said to me: "Do you wish me to unbind you? Do you wish to live or to die? We leave it in your hands. You may have what you wish. But I tell you that if we do not kill you, you will have to stay here among us, serving us by carrying water and wood, and by digging at times, and by attending to all that we tell you."

When the *cacique* said this to me, I was half dead. Nevertheless, I answered: "Do what you desire for my body is in your hands; but if you do not kill me, I shall do what you tell me and will be good, for you see that I cannot stir." This seemed good to him and I said much in a seasonable time. And so he untied me. Then they commanded me to sit down on the ground, having placed me against a bench. They gave me two *mazorquillas*⁵ of cooked maize to eat. But I was in such a condition that although it was good and substantial food, I could not eat it; but in order to satisfy them, I forced myself to eat. I asked them to give me one of those cane beds that I might sleep. This they did and placed an Indian with me who was to be in my presence in case I needed anything. But how could I sleep in those knotted

canes, being naked and wounded and so ill-treated? I only say that unless God had given me strength, it would have been impossible to live. In this manner I was in this hut for ten days, while the Indians danced till midnight, without showing any desire to heal my wounds. But God who is merciful permitted that within a short time, without any curative means, they were healed and I became well.

Fairer days succeeded and they allowed me to go from one house to another, though always naked even during the worst cold of winter. I was the laughing-stock because when they held a feast, they sent for me and hurled nicknames at me. Thus they received pleasure from the feast and they were glad they had not killed me so that they could have someone to entertain them. They made me dig and stand guard over their huts in order that the birds would not eat the grain. All had dominion over me; whoever wished, hit me with a stick. Particularly the boys employed their scorn upon me, for when they saw me, they made fun of me as they would of a madman; they threw sticks or whatever they had, at me.⁶ I suffered much hunger and need because the Indians had nothing to eat and if they had anything, they first attended to their needs, rather than to mine. And so often I found it necessary to satisfy my hunger and need on the leaves of wild grapes and plants having a sour juice, for in this land there were no better fruits.⁷

They tried to use force on me to make me abandon my law and accept that of the Indians, and to marry an Indian after their manner. This I answered with contradiction and with great spirit and feeling, confounding the Indians in such a way that they marvelled at the spirit and liberty I used in speaking to them and in contradicting them. After that they tried to make me serve in cleaning the house of the demon, for such we call it. They, however, call it a tomb. There they place food and drink for the dead which the dead are supposed to find at the morning meal. The Indians believe that the dead eat this food. However, they are already persuaded that the dead do not eat it, because the wizards eat

it themselves, as they know by experience, for we have made this known to them. The same wizards themselves have confessed this and we have made good Christians of them. To this I answered that although they cut me to a thousand pieces, I would not enter that house but I would rather go and burn it. When they saw me so strong in my resolve, they left me.

When affairs reached this stage, the Indians wished to take the crown from me by saying: "You will never see the Spaniards again, nor they, you; leave your law and become an Indian and you will enjoy what we enjoy; you will have a wife or more, if you wish; furthermore, in the other life you will enjoy what you enjoy here, for we know that he who has been miserable and mean in this life, will be the same in the other, and as many wives as one had in this life, so many will he have in the other. This is our belief. Give up the things you teach us for they are foolish. Here we are bringing this Indian woman, young and beautiful; marry her and you will have a happy life and thus reward yourself." While they were speaking and acting in this manner, the Indian girl brought decayed palm leaves from the woods, similar to straw, made a bed for [me] and called [me] to dine.⁸ As soon as I saw this, I perceived the persecution of the devil who did not leave any occasion pass, in order to tempt me and make me disconsolate. I had recourse to God in prayer on this occasion and with tears that fell from my eyes, begged Him to give me the grace to deliver me from so diabolical a temptation. God gave me such persuasiveness and such spirit that by means of them I convinced the Indians and in order to safeguard myself from all this, I fled to the woods where I remained for four days, sustaining myself on herbs and roots. Nor did I return to that town, but betook myself to another, and since then they never spoke to me of such things.

One day while I was going along leisurely, I passed by a hut where some Indians were digging. Under the inspiration of the devil, they took their heavy rods and six Indians conjointly gave me so many strokes that they left me for

dead. This renewed my wounds and caused many new ones as well, but God was pleased that they should be healed in a short time without any curative means. Ten months I was in this state of captivity during which the Lord delivered me from great dangers, giving me such good health and strength that never in my life have I experienced the same.

On a certain occasion when the Indians had determined to declare war against some enemies of theirs, they came to him and said: "See, here we have ten arquebuses without powder and bullets. Make us some powder and bullets and if you do not we shall have to kill you." He excused himself, saying that he did not know how. To this the Indians answered: "Do not excuse yourself for you do know how; your books tell you how you can make them." Father Avila answered: "I have no books because you have taken them from me." They said: "We shall bring them to you." Then they brought him a *Summa*⁹ and a prayer book for religious, those by Fray Luís de Granada,¹⁰ and a breviary,¹¹ all of which were a great consolation for him in his solitude. He hid them in the cavity of an oak tree where he went to read them and to console himself with their contents. The breviary, however, he always carried publicly but the boys tore out the pages. In order to answer them in this matter of the powder and bullets concerning which they molested him and pressed him, he asked for the necessary materials of which there were none in that country. Thus they understood that it was not because he was unwilling, but for lack of the materials, that he failed to make them. And so they left him.

This story of the powder and bullets, Father Avila did not write in his *Relación* but it was given to me by a religious who dealt with Father Avila before and after his captivity and who spoke and conferred with him a great deal. He relates this incident and divers others, which I pass over in order to avoid prolixity.¹²

Father Verascola who at this time was in the city of St. Augustine, whither he had gone to obtain some things necessary for his cell and for his Indians, was in charge of

the mission of St. Dominic at Asao.¹³ He returned to Asao, very glad to divide among his Indians the things he brought along. But they had already played false and had apostatized from the faith, without the religious knowing about it. They waited for him and when he disembarked, two Indians took him in their arms, while the others arrived and killed him by means of blows from an ax. Then they buried him.¹⁴

Soon the Indians took up the subject of going to war with the other Indians who were their enemies, and of killing the religious who were with them. To them it seemed a good opportunity because owing to the religious, they were unprepared for meeting warlike conditions. Many Indians joined; they nominated and appointed captains, and apportioned other offices; prepared bows and arrows and got ready all that was necessary for war. More than forty¹⁵ canoes congregated in order to attack the principal town of San Pedro, on the feast of our Holy Father St. Francis, in order to catch the enemy unawares. They were determined not to desist until they had killed all the Spaniards, for these Indians are past masters when it comes to arrogance.

It happened that a brigantine had come to San Pedro to bring two religious and certain articles. The boat came with peaceful intent since it had only one soldier and the necessary sailors. There were no arms. It so pleased God that for thirty days it could not leave port, for lack of wind, either by sea or by the channel. Four times it returned from the sea and the channel, until the day of our Holy Father St. Francis.¹⁶ The enemy Indians came at dawn upon the town with more than forty canoes, containing many pagan Indians and rebel Christians. They landed many of their men at the head of the island so that they could kill the Indians in their houses. As soon as they saw the brigantine in the port, the Indians were dismayed and their arrogance was subdued. They thought there were soldiers with firearms in it. Moreover the chieftain of San Pedro was warlike so he went out in canoes with Indian bowmen and guns after the invaders who took to flight. They apprehended some of those who had

landed. Others who were not able to flee to safety, took to land on the other side of the river, deserting their canoes.¹⁷ When they saw that they were in their enemies' territory, and that they could not reach their own, they hung themselves with the cords of their bows from the oak and laurel trees. Thus we see the pride of all those who laid hands on the religious. They were accomplices and abettors in their death, and they all came to an evil end.¹⁸

The governor, Domingo de Avendaño, died on the 24th of November, in the year 1595.¹⁹ It was at his petition that His Majesty sent the said religious who had arrived three months before his death. Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo succeeded him in the government, by a royal *cédula*²⁰ and it was he who governed the presidio when the Indians of Guale killed the religious. As soon as he learned of it he tried to inflict a general reprisal on the province of Guale. One hundred Spanish soldiers and two hundred friendly Indians went out [for this purpose]. And when they entered the towns, they found the houses of the fathers burned, and many others destroyed and tenantless. Nor were there any Indians present who might impede their progress. They overran these towns. From an Indian whom they apprehended they learned that the whole population was where Father Avila, "the resurrected one" as the Indians called him, was in captivity. Through his good efforts the governor rescued him and freed him from that miserable slavery in which the barbarous Indians held him.²¹

Since all the Indians were hidden in the woods, the governor could neither punish them nor get in touch with them. They burned the maize fields and foodstuffs of the Indians; the Indians themselves already burned their houses when they left. On this account and due to what followed, during the subsequent years they had no maize harvest. Moreover since they were removed from the sea, they could neither fish nor gather shellfish, with the result that they suffered great hunger. Though the Indians sowed, it was little, while the Spaniards destroyed it every year, by which

they understood that it was a punishment of God for having killed the fathers.

The Indians treated with the governor about giving themselves up to the service of His Majesty.²² He answered that he could not receive them unless they first handed over to him the heir to the inheritance of Tolomato, since he was the chief one of those who conspired for the death of the religious. Because he was a *cacique* they took it ill to comply with this demand; nevertheless, they turned against him. But he strengthened his position with many Indians who rallied around him. They went out with determination against him and his followers and killed them all sparing neither brothers, cousins, relatives, friends or neighbors or those united by any other bond.²³ In this way, the land became quiet and at the end of six years, after the religious' deaths they were brought into subjection under Holy Mother the Church and the service of God.

NOTES

VIII

¹Tulafina was on the mainland.

²Indians are past masters in the art of ridicule. Among many tribes, ridicule is the worst punishment that can be given to a fellow tribesman. This weapon is applied with great effect on those who have broken a law or tribal custom.

³The woolen cincture worn about the waist.

⁴Previously Father Oré mentioned that one of the women whose son was a hostage at St. Augustine, was instrumental in obtaining Father Avila's release from death.

⁵A *mazorca* is a spindleful of anything; it likewise means an ear of corn. *Mazorquilla*, a diminutive form, means a small spindleful, and in this case, of corn.

⁶At the trial held at St. Augustine the Indians testified that Father Avila was the butt of ridicule at the hands of the

Indian boys. Información sobre el martirio de los misioneros franciscanos de la Florida. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 13-23.

⁷This information was likewise supplied by the Indians at the trial.

⁸The Indian maiden anticipating her domestic duties as a wife, prepared a bed and a meal.

⁹A *Summa* is a name generally given to a scientific compendium of theology or philosophy. It is employed also for a book containing a compendium of prayers.

¹⁰Fray Luís de Granada (1504-1588) was a Spanish Dominican. His real name was Luís de Sarría but he is best known today as Fray Luís de Granada, the place of his birth. Among the best known of his non-mystical works was the *Guía de Pecadores*, one of the chief devotional books of Spain. It had wide circulation also in France and England. E. Allison Peers, *Spanish Mysticism* (London, 1934), pp. 90-91.

¹¹The breviary or *breviarium* contains the Divine Office which every priest is bound to recite daily.

¹²Here Father Oré's trustworthiness is again evident. Such distinctions as to the source of his material for this history make him all the more trustworthy. The story itself does not appear to be fantastic.

¹³Asao is an island, St. Simon Island of today, lying between Jekyl and Sapelo Islands. Bolton, *Arredondo's Historical Proof*, p. 15.

¹⁴This murder occurred after September 17. According to Lanning it occurred after the martyrdom of Father Auñón and Brother Bádañoz, but before the attack on Father Avila. Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, pp. 89-90.

¹⁵According to a trustworthy document only twenty-three canoes were seen at San Pedro. 1598— Testimonio, etc. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

¹⁶Father Chozas also testifies that the attack on San Pedro was made in the morning of the feast of St. Francis. 1598— Testimonio, etc., (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

¹⁷Evidently Father Oré again wished to avoid prolixity but in so doing he left out quite a number of interesting details.

Only occupants of *two* canoes made a landing at San Pedro. These Indians surrounded the house of a Christian, named Antonio López. Aroused by the barking of a dog, a certain Jusepe, the son-in-law of Antonio López, came out of the house to quiet the animal. At that moment he received five arrow wounds. However, he was able to run back to the house and arouse his father-in-law. Antonio López sought the *cacique* of the island, Don Juan. He soon found him and gave the alarm for battle. Don Juan and his followers pursued the attacking Indians across the river to the mainland and succeeded in catching only a few. Among the effects the intruders left behind were the habit and capuche of Father Verascola. When the alarm for battle was sounded Father Pareja was standing in front of the church at San Pedro. He ran to the assistance of the wounded Jusepe and heard his confession. A messenger was sent to Puturiba on the northern part of the island where Father Chozas was stationed.

Meanwhile some of the retreating Indians arrived by canoe at Puturiba. They did not attack the place. Father Chozas was apprised of their presence by some of the faithful Indians of the town. The *cacique* of Asao who was among the retreating Indians lifted up the hat of the dead Father Verascola declaring that five of the friars had been killed. "Since I had no other arms," declared Father Chozas, "I clothed myself with those of the Church and commenced to celebrate the Mass of my glorious and seraphic Father St. Francis for it was his feast-day." That evening Father Chozas dispatched a letter to Governor Canzo at St. Augustine, by means of the brigantine, telling him of the grim events that had taken place in Guale. 1598—Testimonio, etc., (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 23).

¹⁸The Testimonio of 1598 does not mention anything about the Indians committing suicide. Indeed among Indians suicide is almost unknown.

¹⁹This date corresponds with the official report of his death as contained in the: testimonio de como murio el gouernador Domyngo mytnez de Avendaño. [St. Augustine,

November 25, 1595] (A. G. I. 54-5-16; No. 67) F. S. H. S. phot.

²⁰Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo was appointed governor of Florida by Philip II, on May 25, 1596. testinyo pa haçer buena la placa al pe Ricardo Cura y capellan y Vicario destas prouyas. 1600. [August 7] (A. G. I. 54-5-16, No. 81) F. S. H. S. phot.

²¹Father Avila was rescued through Captain Francisco Fernández de Ecija who having entered into relations with the natives, threatened to follow them as far as Tama with heavy penalties unless they gave the friar over to him. Información sobre el martirio de los misioneros franciscanos de la Florida, López, *Relación histórica*, II, 15.

²²The first of the Indian chiefs to submit to the Spaniards was Espogache. To test the sincerity of these *caciques* Governor Canzo sent some soldiers into Guale to see if they would be hospitably received. After that some of the *caciques* came into St. Augustine to render obedience. testimonyo de la obediencia de los caçiques de guale en q piden mysericordia del delito q an cometido de matar los Religiosos. 18 Mayo de [1] 600. [St. Augustine] (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 32) F. S. H. S. phot.

²³The repentant chiefs of Guale made war on Don Francisco, the ruler of Tolomato, together with Don Juanillo, his heir. Both were killed in battle after which the land became quiet and missionary work was begun anew. aueriguacion sobre la muerte de don Junylo yndio de guale y demas yndios sus bassallos. [St. Augustine, Nov. 27, 1601] (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 41) F. S. H. S. phot.

IX

HOW THE INDIANS OF THE PROVINCE OF GUALE WERE BROUGHT INTO SUBJECTION. CONCERNING THE GREAT SUCCESS OF THE RELIGIOUS IN THE CONVERSION OF THE INDIANS OF FLORIDA.

Pedro de Ybarra succeeded Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo as governor.¹ During his period of office, namely in 1604, His Majesty King Philip III, our master, sent a number of religious of the Province of Los Angeles² to continue the work of conversion that was progressing in Florida. These came under Fray Bartolomé Romero. Two of this group were sent to the province of Guale where they have remained to this day. They have made great headway in learning the language which they know perfectly. Moreover they have made great strides in reconciling the Indians and in bringing them to our Holy Catholic Faith. These two religious were Fray Juan de Guadalupe and Fray Esteven de San Andrés.³ They came as companions of Fray Pedro Ruíz who was a companion who came with the martyrs.

These religious encountered great difficulty in reducing those Indians, because all had exchanged their women with those of others, and had two or more children by them during the time of their apostasy. They lived with them according to their desires more than with their lawful wives. Things were so bad that the friars could not get the Indians to an agreement. Some of the Christian women had gone to the pagans in the interior and had given birth as a result of these unions to two or three children. Their husbands had entered into relations with women here by whom they also had children. Because they were Christians and had been married by the Church, it was imperative that they give up the women and live as Christians. And in this manner there was more

difficulty than if they had to be converted for the first time. The fathers told the Indians: "Leave this woman who is not yours." To this the Indian would reply: "Bring me mine who is among the pagans and make her love me and I shall leave this one." But the religious answered thus: "Until we bring her, leave this one." Again the Indian answered: "If I leave her, I will not have anyone to give me to eat and if I do not enter the house where my children are, and if I do not bring them food and wood, they will perish." The religious were not able to solve the situation by any remedy for it was grave and onerous, so they were discouraged. They turned to God in prayer and besought Him to remedy the affair. He favored them so that gradually He brought them back and on His part evened out the difficulty, taking some of them out of this world to the other. Thus the partners became free of their former alliance and were able to contract anew.

We have an example of this in reference to the principal *cacique* of the province of Guale. During the time of his apostacy he took to his house as a concubine and mistress one of his sisters-in-law, the sister of his own wife, with whom he lived all that time. By her he had three children, and by his own wife four children. Knowing that he would be commanded to leave his sister-in-law he spoke first and said to the fathers: "I see the evil I have done in committing this incest with the sister of my wife. I have three children by her, but if I eject them from my house, they will have to suffer and perish. Although she be in my house, I do not have to have relations with her; if the Indians murmur at this, recall what I said." The fathers said nothing in order not to break immediately with the *cacique* for it seemed proper to them to act in this manner until a more opportune season presented itself, lest everything be lost. Afterwards they treated with this *cacique* in resolving his difficulty. They told him to eject his sister-in-law from his house and send her to her father's house because her presence in his house was scandalizing the Indians and was setting them a bad example. The fathers

said the reformation of morals should start with him. All they accomplished with him was that he put her in a separate house, which was an ancient custom of the chiefs who placed in a separate house each one of the women or lovers they had. Even then the Indians complained: "Until now the *cacique* had in one house two women and children; now he has two houses and in each house he has a woman as if he were a pagan." The Indians urged him to marry her. Neither did he nor she wish, nor did anyone dare to marry her, for it was a custom that no one should marry or speak to the wives or the lovers of the *caciques*. God was pleased to call to Himself the wife of the *cacique*, while the sister-in-law gathered the children of her sister together with hers in her house. The religious forbade him to enter the house of his sister-in-law, his mistress.

He answered with tears that he had no relatives and that he would die of hunger if that woman would not give him to eat and if they forbade him to go and see his children in order to bring them food and wood. The religious answered: "Take them to our house and there we shall take care of them in exchange for your turning from sin." Fray Pedro Ruíz said to him with feeling, among other admonitions: "You have not desired to leave off sin, nor to take the advice we have given you. It would be better if you had never been a Christian, because in hell, being a pagan, you would not have to endure so many pains and torments, as you will have to, being a bad Christian. But I tell you in the name of God that if you do not amend, I will have to bury you or this woman within thirty days." This was a portent full of wonder to all the Indians and a means by which many were converted for within twenty days the sister-in-law died and on the day of burial at the door of the church, the Indian said with tears: "Because I did not take the advice of the father, this, my sister-in-law died, as the father foretold. I am very sorry for this. Take warning from my case and leave the women you have stolen and who are not yours, and receive those whom God has given you through the Church,

for it is proper to do this. In the execution of this, I must help the father as much as I can so that by means of this good work, God may forgive me my sins." With this case before them nearly all the Indians submitted.

Another married Indian did not wish to live with his wife because he had illicit relations with a widow by whom he had a son, and owing to the love he had for the child, there was no way of separating them. The father threatened him saying: "Perhaps God will permit that this son whom you love so much will be taken away from you within a few days for this is the cause of your remaining in sin." As he predicted so it happened. Then they separated, confessing as did the *cacique* before the door of the church, so that the Indians were affrighted. So they continued to amend their lives and depart from such immoral vices, so common in all parts, both among Indians and Spaniards.⁴

One of the religious who has been most useful in the conversion of the Indians has been Fray Francisco Pareja who has dedicated himself to the ministry of teaching the Indians. And in order that he might be useful not only to those of his own mission and district, but to all in that province and language of Timucua in which he is skilled for he has worked among them for more than twenty years, he has written and published several books called *La Doctrina Christiana* and *Catecismo* and *Confessionario*⁵ and other devotional tracts. These are always in the hands of the Indians. With ease many Indian men and women have learned to read in less than two months, and they write letters to one another in their own language. In this first chapter, because of his excellent virtue, he was elected provincial.⁶ He narrates many things and occurrences, which he has experienced among the Indians, in his *Relación* which he wrote in his own hand and which was signed with his name. The principal things and those most noteworthy to be inserted here, are the following:

Certain questions are put in writing to all the religious. The questions put to them were: Is there any progress

among the Indians? Do they live as Christians? Do they confess as such? Are there any reasons why Communion is forbidden them? He answers in the following words:

Fray Luís Jerónimo de Oré, Commissary of this province,⁷ the other fathers of this province being gathered, commanded us under holy obedience and ordered us at the same time to place our hand on our breast and to swear *in verbo sacerdotis*,⁸ to tell what we know concerning certain questions which his paternity asked, signed with his name. In fulfillment of this, I, Francisco Pareja, definitor of this province, said the following:

To the third question, namely, whether any improvement is apparent among the converted Indians and whether they show themselves to be true Christians: I answer that it is for more than fourteen years that the more advanced are going forward in the things of the faith; that Holy Communion has been given them, which they receive with great devotion. When I was the *custodio*,⁹ I examined some of these together with some in the interior. I had been asked by the fathers to do so in order to ascertain if Communion could be given to them. Among them there are Indian men who have sufficient knowledge to give instructions while there are Indian women who catechize other Indian women, preparing them for the reception of Christianity. They assist at Masses of obligation on Sundays and feast-days in which they take part and sing; in some districts they have their confraternities and the procession of Holy Thursday, and from the mission stations they come to the principal mission to hear the *Salve*¹⁰ which is sung on Saturdays. They stay there to sleep over Saturday night in order to hear Mass on Sundays.

In all the towns, they have their churches, and they emulate one another in building better ones. They take holy water and recite their prayers in the morning and evening. They come together in the community house to teach one another singing and reading. Whenever a religious goes out of his convent to a rather distant place, as for example to the presidio on some necessary business, or if he goes there to be

cured of some indisposition from which he is suffering, many Indian men and women ask him to hear their confessions, saying: "perhaps I shall die before your reverence returns."

When someone is ill, they immediately send one of the runners of the town [for the priest] in order that he might hear the person's confession and administer extreme unction. Although some die in the mission stations, in their testament which they make orally, they order that for burial they be carried to where the fathers say Mass every day. This is the principal place over three or four towns which every religious has as sub-stations. Others, when they are ill, have themselves brought in canoes to where the priest is in order to confess, and after they have done this they return to their houses or huts. They show reverence for the dead, for not only on the General Commemoration of the Dead¹¹ do they bring them an offering, such as pumpkins or beans or a basket of maize or a hamper of toasted flour, but also during the year they have Mass said for them with some offering of the afore-mentioned articles which they offer as an alms. On Monday, at the procession for the Departed Souls, they come to be present at it and to hear Mass. These are the signs I have seen together with others which I omit, in order not to be too long. I shall add that they have left all their rites and ceremonies and abuses to which they were prone.

Do they confess as Christians? I answer yes, if they are sufficiently instructed. As a person who has visited this custody, I have looked carefully into this matter, to see that they had that sufficiency to receive Holy Communion, and I have found no reason why they should be denied this Sacrament. Many persons are found, men and women, who confess and who receive [Holy Communion] with tears, and who show up advantageously with many Spaniards. And I shall make bold to say and sustain my contention by what I have learned by experience that with regard to the mysteries of faith, many of them answer better than the Spaniards because the latter are careless in these matters. The religious never cease to instruct them and repeat to them the word of

God daily. What pertains to faith and belief, God is the One who can judge. We can judge only by a person's exterior manifestations, who by the actions he performs presumably shows forth the workings of faith.¹²

As to the question whether there are any reasons why they should be denied Holy Communion, [I reply] that for many of them I find no reason (except the scruple of some of the religious) for among them I have never found a trace of idolatry or witchcraft or superstition. For instance they never say: "By means of this you will be healed; if you do not cure yourself with this herb, you will die;" or, "if the owl hoots, it is a sign that some disgrace must overtake me;" or, "do not cook the fish in warm water if it was the first that entered the fishing grounds where no other fish enter;" or "do not eat maize of the cultivated land where lightning struck for you will be sick with such a sickness."

When a woman gives birth, she does so apart, but she no longer places a laurel at the door of her house saying that the devil should not strike her, as she used to do. All these things and others has the word of the Gospel extirpated so much so that the Indians do not even remember them. Furthermore, the younger generation which has been nourished on the milk of the Gospel makes fun of and laughs at some old men and women who carelessly have recourse to these abuses. There is no need of treating of drunkenness, for their drink does not cause it; even many of the religious are not without it. It is made of some leaves of the oak tree. This is toasted dry in a pot or jar placed in water. Immediately they pour water upon it to a point where it is neither hot nor cold. Nor do they mix any other thing with it. It is good for preventing stones and small accretions in the kidneys, as well as a preventative against pain in the side. For this reason it has been taken to Spain and to New Spain.¹³

[Another question was:] Have churches and fonts for baptismal and holy water been erected? I say they esteem it to have a better church or temple than in other places. It has happened that pagans have come (as they do every day

from their towns to those of the Christians) and receive the blessing of the religious. The latter ask the Indians: "What are you looking for here?" To which they answer: "We came to see the church and your house and that of our relatives because they consider themselves related, provided they have the same names or lineage even if there is a difference of a hundred degrees. After a lapse of time they come and say: "Father, we have a house for you and a church; come and instruct us for the Christians have already told us it is of prime importance for us to go and see the *Utinama*¹⁴ who is in heaven above; besides the *caciques* there, who are most *orobisi*,¹⁵ which means learned, tell us that they have become Christians. We also desire to become such and to be guided by that which they do and say, instructed by you."

With regard to the question of furnishings: I say that despite their poverty, they are accustomed to bring some deer skins, in order to buy wax, for the burial of the dead;¹⁶ in other parts, by means of some *arrobas*¹⁷ of maize, and *machos*, for so they call the pigs, they have gathered enough to purchase some small bells.

For the rest, the religious are accustomed to do without some of their food and drink and clothing which Your Majesty provides for the friars, in order to adorn the altars. I testify that Fray Pedro Ruíz and I have made chalices of lead, which we have used at Mass many times; that for weeks, it was necessary for one to have the vestment and [the other] remain without saying Mass until we provided ourselves with the necessities of the sacred ministry by the sacrifice of our meals.¹⁸ The lead out of which the chalices were made, and the stones for the altars,¹⁹ we obtained by contributing to the common cause from the meagre ration that was given us or from the alms which Your Majesty commands to be given us. Often it appears that they [the government officials] throw it to the dogs, since it seems to them that the soldiers are the necessary ones [here] and that we are of no use; but we are the ones who bear the burden and heats, and we are the ones who are subduing and conquering the land. It has been

proposed at times that Your Majesty, Our King and Lord, give an *arroba* and a half of wine for Mass, and also be pleased to give two *arrobas* of wax for the same purpose, for the period of a whole year, because of the great penury that is experienced here. But since we have not the means to buy it, there has been no one to ask for it.²⁰

This good religious relates other things in greater extent and his account is very true. The other religious agree with the account of Father Pareja. He is the oldest of them, a man of great virtue and has approved of the accounts given by the other religious so that I have contented myself with giving his alone in order to avoid prolixity.²¹

NOTES

IX

¹Pedro de Ybarra was appointed governor of Florida in September, 1602. Camara de Yndias 19 de noviembre 1602 Proponense psonas Para los Cargos de goueror y Capitan general de las Prouincias de la florida. [Valladolid] (A. G. I. 147-5-15) F. S. H. S. phot. Governor Canzo before the termination of his office made an official visit through Guale and was well received. In 1604 Pedro de Ybarra made another visitation. Excellent accounts of both visitations may be read in Lanning, *The Spanish Missions of Georgia*, pp. 126-145.

²The Province of Los Angeles which developed from the Province of Santiago, was located in the region of Sierra Morena in south central Spain.

³Other friars of this group were: Fray Juan Bautista Capilla stationed at San Pedro, Fray Martín Prieto and Fray Alonso Romero stationed at Nombre de Dios, Father Delgado was placed at Talaxe and Tupiqui. Two lay brothers whose names are not mentioned labored at San María and Moloa in Timucua. These friars were twice shipwrecked on the coast of Florida before arriving at St. Augustine, once at Cape

Cañaveral, and again at the bar of Mosquito. From the latter place they journeyed by land to the presidio city. Mary Ross, "The Restoration of the Spanish Missions in Georgia, 1598-1616" *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, X (1926), 185-186 and Tanto de las diligencias que hicier [on] Para atraer a la ouediencia de su magd las Prouys de Sorruque y Aiz de la banda del Sur destas Prouinçias.-ano de 1605. (A. G. I. 54-5-9; No. 61) F. S. H. S. phot.

⁴Here is a close-up picture of the difficulties encountered by the friars in the laborious work of uprooting the pagan practice of polygamy. Incidentally, it shows the tact required on the part of the missionaries inasmuch as they had to abide their time in the matter of the Indians' final conversion. The recitation of these events also throws abundant light on the background of the Guale revolt.

⁵Among all the missionaries Father Pareja became the Timucuan scholar *par excellence*; for, it was he who reduced the language to writing and left for posterity a detailed knowledge of that language. His complete works, as given by Pou y Martí, O. F. M., in *Archivo Ibero- Americano*, XXVIII (1927), 64, are the following:

Catechismo en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana, (Mexico, 1612).

Cathecismo y Breve Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana (Mexico, 1612).

Confessionario en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana, (Mexico, 1613).

Cathecismo y Examen para los que comulgan en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana, (Mexico, 1627).

Arte y Pronunciacion en Lengua Timuquana y Castellana, (Mexico, 1614).

Besides these Father Pareja wrote works in Spanish and Timucuan concerning the Pains of Hell, the Joys of Heaven, Purgatory, the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin and other works of devotion. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 46.

⁶The Chapter of December, 1616, held at San Buenaventura de Guadalquini. The first provincial of the province of

Santa Elena appointed in 1612 was Fray Juan Bautista de Capilla. Barcía, *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 181.

⁷An official visitor to a province was called commissary.

⁸*In verbo sacerdotis* signified that the priest made his declaration on the strength of his sacred character.

⁹Prior to 1612.

¹⁰The prayer "Salve Regina" or "Hail Holy Queen".

¹¹The Commemoration of All Souls, November 2.

¹²What Father Pareja wishes to say is that in so far as he could judge from external actions he perceived genuine signs of Catholicity among the Indians with whom he came in contact.

¹³The drink mentioned here and for which Father Oré does not supply a name was probably the cassina, "the beverage of the Florida Indians mentioned by all the ancient French and Spanish writers on Florida." Connor, *Colonial Records* I, 282. Technically it is known as *Ilex Cassene* or *Ilex Vomitoria*. The *yerba maté* is a South American variety of cassina. Connor, *Colonial Records*, I, 282-283.

¹⁴According to Dr. Swanton, *Utinama* signifies "the powerful one," or "the all-powerful one." "It was a term applied to some of the native chiefs and it is interesting to find that it was used for 'God.'" Letter of Dr. Swanton to Dr. Cooper, Washington, March 19, 1936. According to the Gentleman of Elvas, *Utinama* was the name of a town through which De Soto passed in the region of Potano. T. H. Lewis, ed., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 156.

¹⁵According to Dr. Swanton *orobisi* means wise and was applied to doctors. Letter of Dr. Swanton to Dr. Cooper, *ut supra*.

¹⁶The reference is to wax candles used liturgically at funerals.

¹⁷An *arroba* was equivalent to twenty-five pounds.

¹⁸Each religious laboring in Florida received three *reales* a day for his support. The money was supplied by the king from the royal treasury in Mexico. The money sent for the support of the religious and military in Florida was known as

the *situado* or subsidy. This subsidy could be collected for three hundred persons in the Florida service. Church goods were brought from Spain and Mexico but there was often a dearth of even necessary articles for ecclesiastical use. The self-sacrifice of the missionaries in this and in other matters speaks for itself.

¹⁹Altar-stone, a necessary article for saying Mass licitly. It is frequently known as a portable altar.

²⁰Both governmental letters and the accounts of the religious repeat with pointed monotony the story of poverty in Spanish Florida. Practically everything necessary to sustain life had to be brought thither from other colonies. The distance and time involved in procuring these necessities often brought great hardship to the civil and religious population.

²¹Other accounts of Father Pareja in the early period of missionization are: Fray Francisco Pareja to the king, March 8, 1599. *Archivo Ibero-Americano*, I (1914), 357-359.—Declaración del P. Fray Francisco Pareja. San Agustín, 14 septiembre de 1602. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 25-28.—Carta del Custodio y Definidores de la Custodia de Santa Elena de la Florida a S. M. San Agustín, 11 enero de 1608. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 33-34.—Los misioneros de la Florida exponen a S. M. los impedimentos que se les ponen para la conversión de los indios. San Agustín, 17 enero 1617. López, *Relación histórica*, II, 41-44.

X

OTHER THINGS THAT HAPPENED TO THE RELIGIOUS IN THIS MISSION FIELD; AN ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT PROVINCE OF APALACHE.

I, Fray Martín Prieto, definitor of this province of Santa Elena of Florida, declare that Fray Luís Jerónimo de Oré, Commissary of the said province, having commanded me by virtue of obedience and having taken from me the oath *in verbo sacerdotis* to make a declaration on certain matters about which his paternity has asked me to answer according to my knowledge, on the strength of the oath I have taken, declare the following:

I declare that I am from the province of Los Angeles and that I left the house of Nuestra Señora de Los Angeles for the conversion of the natives of Florida, in the fleet which arrived in the year 1605, ten years ago. After we arrived, I was in Nombre de Dios until the year 1606 when on April 10, I was sent to the province of Potano¹ among the infidels where there had been but one Christian and he had been baptized at St. Augustine. Another religious went with me.² I commenced to build a church in San Francisco³ and there I ordered my companion to stay until I went to three other towns in which there were twelve hundred persons.

When the other father commenced to teach catechism, at the end of twenty days, the Indians rose up in rebellion against him and wished to kill him. One night he came to my small abode which I had built, and in this manner escaped. I ordered him to go to St. Augustine so that he would not encounter misfortune, while I remained alone in charge of all the places for the period of five or six months. During this time I experienced such difficulty that I would prefer not to

speak about it. But, because I have been commanded to do so by virtue of obedience, I shall tell about it.

Every day I said Mass at San Miguel and held the instruction in Christian doctrine alone because there was no one in the land who knew it. I left there and went a league and a half to San Francisco where I recited the instruction and made another address by means of the *atequi*⁴ as they name the interpreter. I returned to Santa Ana and did the same while at night I returned to sleep at San Miguel. At that time I breakfasted on a little porridge made of ground maize for I had nothing else. In San Miguel and San Francisco, the Indians listened to the instruction and with great diligence learned the things of God that I taught them. In Santa Ana there congregated not more than four or five Indians while the rest made fun of me. They came to oppose me and jostled me when I announced Christian doctrine to them; they caused such an uproar that nothing could be heard. One day I made up my mind and told them that in the two other places the Indians wished to be Christians and hear the word of God. The wizard of the place answered that he was their priest. He said, moreover: "Father, our *cacique* is very old; he is in a house; in fact, he is so old that he cannot stand. When he was a boy he was a captive of Hernando de Soto.⁵ From Christians he had received much injury and for this reason he tells us that we should not become Christians, and that while he lives none in this town should become such."

When I heard this I departed for the house where the *cacique* was. When he saw me enter the house, he turned to the wall and told others to throw me out, while he foamed at the mouth with great anger and scolded his chief men because they had consented to allow me to come where he was. I began to tell him some things about God's law. But he not only did not want to hear them for he closed his ears but he commanded them to give me a beating and to throw me out of the house. At that moment there was a thunderclap so that all fell to the ground, accompanied by so strong a wind

that in this place and in the other there remained neither a house nor a barn standing, nor a hut nor any structure, great or small, that was in those places. Only a cross and a church in which Mass had been said, remained standing, and this through the mercy of God, our Master. So great was the fear which this brought upon all, that the next day the *cacique* called for me in order that I might instruct him. Within six days I baptized him and after that he gave his soul to God. The entire locality had the greatest desire of becoming Christians. I baptized there four hundred persons, old and young.

At San Miguel, I baptized two hundred persons; at San Francisco half the place, which would total about two hundred persons. Father Serrano whom the prelate had sent to help me, baptized the rest. He will declare in his statement how many he baptized. In another place which we call San Buenaventura, in the same district of Potano, where in past times the Spaniards had killed many people, Father Pareja, the *custodio*, sent a religious who baptized all the people.

This year of 1607, I went to Timucua⁶ many times. This is a district near Potano, all of which is under the rule of the great *cacique* of Timucua who is greatly esteemed and feared in the whole land of Florida. He has more than twenty places under his command. During a period of two years I exhorted this *cacique* many times to receive the law of God in his land. He delayed for nearly three years owing to the difficulty he had with his vassals for they were at war with the Indians of the province of Apalache. The word of God was more powerful than the deceits of the devil. The *cacique* went to St. Augustine to ask the governor and the prelate for religious to christianize the land.

In the said city he became a Christian.⁷ The prelate commanded me to go with him. In 1608, on the 1st day of May, I arrived at his place. After I had preached to the Indians for some days on the law of God, he told me he had been feared in all the land and that he was the leader in all the Indian ceremonies; that he himself had wanted to become a

Christian in the meantime and wanted his land to be christianized as well. He asked us to go and visit all his towns and to throw down to the ground all the idols the places contained. Starting with the place where he was and which is now called San Martín, we burned twelve images in the center of the plaza; then we went to four other places and in each one of them we burned six images. I addressed the Indians and after me the *cacique* took my hand and told them definitively that throughout his territory they should leave their pagan superstitions and that all should prepare to be instructed and become Christians. At San Martín, I baptized the boys and girls who numbered about one hundred; the others were catechumens whom the other religious baptized since I was unable to do so owing to an illness I contracted.

When I arrived at the end of three days, they notified me that a child of four or five years of age was dying. The *cacique* took me thither so that I could baptize it, and at that almost in spite of its parents. The child was already dying and while the parents and relatives were crying over it, according to the custom of the Indians, with great screams, the child raised itself and said: "Do not cry for me, rather sing, for I am the first from this town who am going to enjoy God and have rest. Cry over the wretched ones who have died without seeing this time and who are suffering." I told them to consider these words of the child; that the child itself did not say them, but some angel. These words made such an impression on its parents and on those who heard the words that they did not leave me alone for a moment, asking me to make them Christians. Its parents have ever shown themselves as such since that time and have led a virtuous life. I made the visit over all the territory of Timucua together with its great *cacique*. When I saw that no peace could obtain in it, owing to the wars that Gran Apalache^s was waging on it every day, I told the *cacique* that I was determined to go to Apalache and establish peace. And since in his land they had rendered obedience to the King, our Lord, and the faith of Jesus Christ was being planted

therein, God would permit, since He had died for all men, that things would turn out well in Apalache, if I should go there, and they would be saved.

Placing some difficulties before me at the beginning, he finally said that if I should go, it would not be right for him to remain. We departed for the province of Apalache in the middle of July, in 1608, and after six days' journey arrived at Cotocochuni,⁹ a large settlement near Apalache. From the province of Potano and Timucua I took with me a hundred and fifty Indians. From Cotocochuni which is twelve leagues from Apalache, I dispatched two captives whom I found there and who were from Apalache. They were to announce that I was coming and were to state the reason of my coming, namely, that it was a mission of peace and to make peace forever. I took along the *caciques* of the towns through which I passed (neighboring on Apalache) in order that together with the great *cacique* of Apalache they would make peace. When the runners had arrived at Apalache, the whole province gathered. This province comprises twelve leagues of inhabited lands.

Seventy *caciques* came together with all their people, asking the runner what the people had done for me in Timucua and how they had received me. They answered that they had cleaned the roads leading to the town, over which I had gone. They cleaned [the road] more than three leagues before arriving at the place, making a broad large road. They had abundant food consisting of cakes made of maize and flour of the same, and thus they awaited me. Having arrived at the Plaza of Juitachuco,¹⁰ I testify I saw more than 30,000 Indians and I am not surprised.¹¹ Concerning those who have gone there since, if they have not seen so many, I say that the Indians are fond of novelties and that, that was the first time they ever saw a Spaniard in their land in these times. As soon as they saw their enemies in their houses, all came together. They sent the younger boys for wood, and each one brought a log; of this they made a pile so that the two hundred men I brought with me were enabled to eat for

six days. When we left, the wood that was left over was not sufficient to fill two carts. Finally, in everything that pertains to this province of Apalache, I refer to what has been made in the reports to Your Majesty and the Royal Council by me and which is the same that I gave to Governor Ybarra, what neither a Spaniard nor any other person in that period had seen but myself. My own report I gave to the governor, Juan Fernández de Olivera¹² with those which other fathers, who came here afterwards, have given [him.] I treated of peace conjointly with the *caciques* of Apalache and Timucua. All agreed on peace with great satisfaction. The *cacique* of Juitachuco, since he was the most important among them, raised his voice in the midst of them and said, weeping: "When did I merit that so happy a day should dawn upon me that I should see peace in my enemies and behold them eating in my plaza and home, in the spirit of peace? Now we shall have a meal; now we shall have peace and happiness; now, my sons, we shall have quiet." These and many other words he uttered on the subject.

Together with this all the *caciques* of Apalache delegated the *cacique* of Inihayca¹³ to go to the city of St. Augustine, and in the name of all, give obedience to the governor of St. Augustine, as to the person who represents the king, our sovereign. He came as far as San Buenaventura de Potano with me. But the governor who knew what was taking place sent two soldiers who met him two leagues from San Buenaventura which was on the way to St. Augustine. The soldiers had received instructions that if the *cacique* was with me, they were to take him from me, in order that they themselves should bring him to St. Augustine and thus he [the governor] would obtain the merit for which he had not worked. But as poor friars of St. Francis, we hope for nothing but the reward of heaven. I was satisfied that they conducted him thither, delivered the message and performed the errands which they desired.

The people of Apalache are numerous. Twelve leagues are populated, a half or more of the people desire to become

Christians. It is a land most productive in food: maize, beans and pumpkins. There is nothing else there. The Indians are as naked as when their mothers brought them forth.¹⁴ There is great difficulty in carrying thither overland the food and sustenance necessary for the religious, because it is a hundred leagues to St. Augustine where the provisions are gathered for all.¹⁵

All the above-mentioned things, I have desired to write down, taking from the account those which this religious gave me, although I have had the larger and more copious account of Fray Alonso Serrano. He entered Apalache afterwards, preached there and erected some crosses in some parts of the great populated area of Apalache. Afterwards, four or five other religious entered [the territory] and all stated the desire the Indians show of becoming Christians. However the permanent placing of religious among them has not been determined upon owing to the difficulty of transporting the means of livelihood from St. Augustine and also because of the distance from the presidio of the Spaniards who form the guard of the missionaries. This is done for fear lest the Indians, moved by the devil, aggrieve or maltreat them or take away their lives and thus Your Majesty would be obliged to punish them. Such a provision was made by His Majesty and the Royal Council and was given to Juan Maldonado, a citizen of Cuzco and governor of the expedition to Chunchos.¹⁶ The point was brought out to him that the [soldiers] should safeguard the priests and missionaries so that the Indians would not kill them. They were also to take care to repair such damage if done, and punish them as they deserve. In Apalache, the priests and missionaries of the Gospel are not able to have peace with the Indians for there is much for which they should be taken to task; for instance, the extirpation of their immoral practices which are of the worst kind. But by the aid of divine grace and the exercise of prudence, nothing will be impossible to those who might be sent.

Owing to the great multitude of Indians in this district of Apalache, covering a stretch of territory of twelve leagues,

the religious of good spirit desire to employ their efforts in the conversion of these souls. Others have entered through the other part of La Tama which forms another large group of people. Others entered into Santa Elena where the presidio was first; it would be wise if [the Government] placed one there and populated that place because in former years the Spaniards relinquished it somewhat shamefully.¹⁷

No temporal gain is to be hoped for among these many thousands. Your Majesty sustains the soldiers of the presidio and the number of religious who are engaged in preaching the law of Christ, our Lord, and in aggregating daily, towns to the faith of the Catholic Church,—a worthy enterprise for so Catholic a King, whom may God preserve many years. But the spiritual need is well known. The religious like good oxen are treading this harvest of the Lord, nor do they eat their bread in vain, but with incredible difficulty and solicitude, assist in baptizing and administering the sacraments to the sick. The small towns they visit are distant six leagues and more. If the governor should wish to form reductions of three or four small places into one, as was done in the reductions of Peru through the project and determination of the viceroy, Don Francisco de Toledo,¹⁸ the Indians would be taught more effectively and the missionaries be relieved of the excessive labor which they now experience owing to the changes of the weather, because of rain, snow or of the winter or burdened by the heat of summer, for the seasons are regular as in Spain.

With these accounts concerning the Indians of Apalache who desired to be Christians, which were sent to the Royal Council of the Indies by Pedro de Ybarra who was recently governor of Florida, the Rev. Antonio de Trejo, Commissary-General of the Indies, before being elected General of the Order, commanded me to go with the patents of his commission to Old Castille to take twenty-four religious of the province of Concepción from the Recollect houses of Abrojo, Valdescopezo, Villasilos and others, from which I took them. With the satisfaction of the president and *oidores* of the

Royal Council I took them to put them on board ship at Seville and they journeyed to Florida in the year 1612.¹⁹ The governor at that time was Juan Fernández de Olivera who received them with great satisfaction because the greater part of them were very able preachers, spiritual men who have been very serviceable for the conversion of souls.²⁰

NOTES

X

¹Potano was the district west of St. Johns River and southwest of St. Augustine.

²The writer has been unable to identify this religious from any other record.

³A mission was established here which became known as San Francisco de Potano. It was twenty-five leagues from St. Augustine. Nota de las misiones de la provincia de la Florida, in Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, p. 133.

⁴*Atequi* is frequently found in the Spanish documents emanating from Florida. According to Dr. Swanton, "*Atequi* seems to represent a borrowing from Creek in which language the word for 'interpreter' is *yatika*." Letter of Dr. Swanton to Dr. Cooper, *ut supra*.

⁵De Soto and his expedition passed through Potano, according to the Gentleman of Elvas. T. H. Lewis, ed., *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, p. 156.

⁶Timucua was a large territory extending over northern Florida from the sea-coast to the confines of Apalache in the extreme west. It included likewise a small portion of modern Georgia, the southeastern corner.

⁷At this time, however he had not been baptized as yet. His baptism occurred on Palm Sunday in April, 1609, at Nombre de Dios. Pedro de Ybarra was his god-father. testimonio de la venida del capitan grande de ays y cacique mayor de timucua a hesta ciudad y como se bautico el cacique

de timucua y su hedero y principales. [St. Augustine, April 21, 1609.] (A. G. I. 54-5-9, No. 100) F. S. H. S. phot.

⁸Gran Apalache or Apalache the Great was the territory around modern Talahassee.

⁹Cotocochuni between Tarihica and Juitachuco.

¹⁰Juitachuco in the form of Vitachuco is frequently mentioned in *La Florida del Inca*, pp. 51-68 *passim*. It was described as a large province more than fifty leagues wide. The principal town as well as its *cacique* bore the same name (p. 51). According to the account of the Gentleman of Elvas, Uitachuco was a town subject to Apalache. T. H. Lewis, ed., *Spanish Explorers*, p. 161.

¹¹Modern historians *are* surprised! Father Prieto doubtless was sanguinely elated with the success of his mission and thought he saw more Indians than were actually present. There must have been a great concourse of them, however; but their number he over-estimated. Any one witnessing a modern parade, for example, is apt to greatly over-estimate the number of marchers. Based on this report no doubt Father Oré reported to Spain in a *Memorial* asking for more missionaries, that "Apalache has a population of 30,000 Indians," López, *Relación histórica*, II, 45. Swanton's observations on this matter are worth quoting in full. "Pareja, the well-known missionary of the Timucua Indians, and another friar, Alonso de Peñaranda, state in letters, written in 1607, that the Apalachee had asked for missionaries that same year through the friars in Potano. Their statement that the Apalachee towns numbered 107 is, of course, a gross exaggeration. We read that in 1609 more than 28 Timucua and Apalachee chiefs were begging for baptism . . . The need of missionaries to begin converting the Apalachee is frequently dwelt upon in documents written between 1607 and 1633, but it was not until the latter date that work was actually begun. A letter dated November 15, 1633, states that two monks [sic!] had gone to the Province of Apalachee on October 16. It adds that these people had desired conversion for more than 20 years, that their country was 12 leagues in extent and

contained 15,000 to 16,000 Indians, which last statement is of course another gross exaggeration, though indeed more moderate than one of 30,000 made in 1618 and another of 34,000 made in 1635. This last placed the number of Christian converts in the province at 5,000, probably more than the total Apalachee population. By a letter of September 12, 1638, we learn that the conversions of Apalachee were greatly on the increase, and Governor Damian de la Vega Castro y Pardo writes, August 22, 1639, that there had been more than a thousand conversions there, although there were still only two friars." Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, pp. 118-119.

¹²Juan Fernández de Olivera was governor of Florida from 1609 to 1612. His term of office was shortened by death. His rule was characterized by peace and harmony with the Franciscans in distinct contrast with that of Pedro de Ybarra, his predecessor.

¹³Inihayca is probably the Anhayca Apalache mentioned by the Gentleman of Elvas. It was a town "where the lord of all that country and province resided." T. H. Lewis, ed., *Spanish Explorers*, p. 161.

¹⁴The narrative of Cabeza de Vaca describing Apalache nearly a century earlier gives more details of Apalache. "We found a large quantity of maize fit for plucking, and much dry, that was housed; also many deer skins, and among them some mantelets of thread, small and poor, with which the women partially cover their persons. There were numerous mortars for cracking maize The country where we came on shore to this town and region of Apalachen is for the most part level, the ground of sand and stiff earth. Throughout are immense trees and open woods, in which are walnut, laurel, and another tree called liquid-amber, cedars, savins, evergreen oaks, pines, red-oaks, and palmitos like those of Spain. There are many lakes, great and small, over every part of it In this province are many maize fields There are deer of three kinds, rabbits, hares, bears, lions and other wild beasts The country is very cold. It has fine

pastures for herds. Birds are of various kinds. Geese in great numbers. Ducks, mallards, royal-ducks, fly-catchers, night-herons, and partridges abound. We saw many falcons, gerfalcons, sparrow-hawks, merlins, and numerous other fowl." *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 28-30.

The Gentleman of Elvas described Apalache, beyond Uitachuco as a country "well inhabited, producing much corn, the way leading to many habitations like villages There were other towns which had much maize, pumpkins, beans, and dried plums of the country, whence were brought together at Anhayca Apalache what appeared to be sufficient provision for the winter. These *ameixas* [persimmons] are better than those of Spain, and come from trees that grow in the fields without being planted." *Spanish Explorers*, pp. 161-162.

¹⁵One of the reasons for delay in missionaries going to Apalache was the great difficulty in transporting provisions from St. Augustine to that area.

¹⁶The Chunchos were an Indian tribe living in the province of Tarma, Peru.

¹⁷Father Oré refers to the relinquishment of Santa Elena under Hernando de Miranda in 1575.

¹⁸Don Francisco de Toledo was viceroy of Peru from 1569 to 1581. P. A. Means, *Fall of the Inca Empire*, pp. 118-133.

¹⁹It was during this period that Father Oré met Garcilaso de la Vega at Córdova. Father Oré told the Inca at the time that he was uncertain as to whether he would accompany the friars to Florida or merely as far as Seville. As a matter of fact he remained in Spain. *Commentarios Reales*, p. 460.

²⁰It appears that the full quota of twenty-four friars could not be obtained. Shortly after his arrival in Florida, Fray Lorenzo Martínez who was superior of the band which arrived in Florida in 1612 wrote: "Your Majesty commanded me to bring here twenty religious." Fray Lorenzo Martínez to the king, Florida, Sept. 4, 1612. (A. G. I. 54-5-17) F. S. H. S. phot. This agrees with the statement of Governor Olivera who reported the arrival of twenty-one religious. testimonio

sobre sentar las placas a los Religiosos q. vinyeron de Castilla para la conversion de los nles. [St. Augustine, July 26, 1612] (A. G. I. 54-5-10; No. 3) F. S. H. S. phot. In the following year, 1613, eight more friars came to Florida under Fray Juan Bautista de Capilla, the provincial of the province of Santa Elena. Barcía, *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 181. The register of the friars who sailed to Florida on these two occasions is incomplete. The following names, however, are known:

Fray Lorenzo Martínez, 1612, Fray Juan Bautista de Capilla, 1613, Fray Martín de Bustamente, 1613, Fray Alonso Pesquera, Fray Juan de la Cruz, Fray Miguel de Santa María, Fray Matheo de Carça, Fray Alonso de Nabos, Fray Diego de Rodríguez, Fray Alonso Ortiz, Fray Antonio de San Francisco, Fray Francisco Toro Testillano, Fray Basilio de la Cruz, Fray Antonio de Torres, Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús.

Sources on these friars: Request of Fray Martín de Bustamente, Spain, May-June, 1625. (A. G. I. 53-2-11) F. S. H. S. phot.—Testimony of the friars in behalf of their syndic, Captain Alonso de Pastrana, Florida, May, 1616. (A. G. I. 54-5-17) F. S. H. S. phot.—Fray Antonio de st. Franco de la orden de st. Franco. Oct. 10, 1622. (A. G. I. 53-2-11) F. S. H. S. phot.—Petition of Fray Antonio de Torres, Jan. 21, 1630. (A. G. I. 53-2-11) F. S. H. S. phot.—Fray franco. toro testillano de la provincia de la florida de la orden de st. franco. Spain, March 14, 1624. (A. G. I. 53-2-11). F. S. H. S. phot.

XI

1616

CONCERNING THE FIRST PROVINCIAL CHAPTER OF THIS PROVINCE OF FLORIDA AND THE STATUS AND DISPOSITION OF ITS AFFAIRS.

In the year 1614, with the permission of Your Majesty and with the provision of the Royal Council of the Indies, the Rev. Fray Juan de Vivanco, Commissary-General of the Indies, ordered and commanded Fray Luís Jerónimo de Oré, of the province of the Twelve Apostles of Peru, to go and visit the provinces of Florida as also the convents of the island of Cuba.¹ He gave him the necessary patents for the commission which he fulfilled and executed according to the command of his general superior. He visited the said province, consoled the religious and gathered them together for a chapter in the city of St. Augustine. After they had ordained and resolved upon the things touching the conversion of the Indians, he returned to Havana, providing for the convent there, religious necessary for preaching to the Spaniards of that city as well as for attending to other affairs there. When he was two and a half years in the government of the province, new patents came to him with an order from the minister-general² to visit the province once more and call together the guardians and definitors in the celebration of a provincial chapter and to choose a provincial and guardians for all the convents of the province as well as for Havana and the island of Cuba.

On the 6th of November in the year 1616, the said Father Commissary, Fray Luís Jerónimo de Oré entered the city of St. Augustine in Florida with his companions to visit the province and hold the provincial chapter. It had taken him twenty-five days to reach the bar of Havana owing to storms and contrary winds which he encountered. When [the ship]

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had anchored outside the bar it was necessary, owing to weather conditions, to cut the cables and sacrifice two anchors. This raised the loss for the owner of the ship to more than five hundred ducats. [Father Oré] was received by the governor, Juan Triviño de Guillamas,³ the religious and the soldiers of the presidio with signs of great joy. He remained in the convent ten days, giving notice of his arrival to all the religious who are engaged in the conversion of the Indians in the missions of the interior, in the two districts of Guale and Timucua.

On the 17th of the same month he went to visit the land on foot, in company with three religious. Although the governor ordered a horse to be given him, which a soldier brought forward, he preferred to go on foot in the company of his religious.⁴ He embarked in a canoe on the river of Tocoy,⁵ greater than all the rivers of Spain, France and Italy. Its shores were wooded with pine and other trees. There is an abundance of good fish. Twenty leagues up the river, he and his companions arrived at the convent of San Antonio de Enacape⁶ where he had ordered that the guardian of that house and the guardian of the other convent called Avino⁷ should come together, as well as the religious of both guardianates and a definitor.

When all were in the said convent, he delivered a spiritual discourse to them and held the visitation. When this was completed, he held the chapter of faults⁸ and charged the fathers to pray to our Lord for the favorable outcome of an election which was to be held at the provincial chapter. This same thing was ordered in the patent that was sent to the whole province together with the news of his arrival; the fathers were ordered to say the accustomed suffrages at Vespers and Matins⁹ so that our Lord would be pleased to have a guiding hand in this chapter and election so that there would be nothing to vitiate it in any way of worldliness or solicitation on any part; and for this intention the commissary with the religious of those two guardianates prayed and took the discipline.

The religious were very much consoled. He remained to examine the Indians in Christian doctrine and catechism and found that the greater number of them, men and women, knew it well. The boys, and all in general, besides knowing the catechism well knew also how to serve Mass. During the time he was there he preached to the whole town, visited the baptismal font, inspected the oil-stocks¹⁰ and performed the suffrage which the manual orders to be made for the souls of the faithful departed. He did the same in all the towns. And the greater part of the Indians, men and women, knew the Christian doctrine. In this he proceeded not only as the superior of the friars but as the visitor to the province for his lordship, the bishop. For this purpose he had received a special commission from him.¹¹ And so he visited the Blessed Sacrament in the principal church in St. Augustine; he also made the visitation to the font in the church, and inspected the oil and the chrism. Moreover, he published an edict against the public vices that might have been prevalent among the soldiers of the presidio, appointing the attorney and notary of the same soldiers with the consent and approval of the governor. Thus he remedied everything where a remedy was in demand without causing burdens to anyone, and at that, with the prudence and caution necessary when dealing with soldiers, so that he would obtain the end of the reform desired.

The father commissary and his secretary left on foot from the convent of San Antonio in order to go to the convent of San Francisco de Potano. Although the land is flat, and in some parts, marshy and thick with very high pine trees, and obstructed with lagoons, they arrived in two and a half days with some fatigue at the mission station of Apalo.¹² From there they passed a very large lake¹³ surrounded by very high trees, and which has good fish. After this they arrived at the convent of San Francisco de Potano. Thence they went to the convent of Santa Fe de Teleco¹⁴ and from there to the convent of San Martín,¹⁵ preaching in all the towns to the Indians and examining them in the Christian doctrine. In

this convent of San Martín in Timucua, according to the order which had been given him in the letters patent, the guardian of that place as well as the guardians of Potano¹⁶ and Tarihica¹⁷ and the religious of the convents of San Juan de Guacara,¹⁸ Teleco¹⁹ and Cofa²⁰ [had been gathered together]. He exhorted them in the service of the Lord and in the observance of the rule and in diligence in the conversion of the Indians. After the visitation had been made, all the religious were called, one by one. When this was accomplished, he conducted the chapter of faults, said the prayers and took the discipline for the favorable outcome of the chapter. And in each one of the towns referred to, he remained three or four days, conducting the visitation and the examination and taking down in writing the exact number of baptized Christians, both the living and those who had died.

Considering the great difficulty for the religious who had a vote, as well as for the Indians, if the chapter were to be held at St. Augustine,—for they would have to bring their books with them as well as provisions,—he consulted with the religious and the guardians who were present as to the feasibility of holding the chapter at the convent of San Buena-ventura de Guadalquini,²¹ where the food for the Indians as well as the fare for the fathers in chapter could be had at less expense, for everything is very costly in the city of St. Augustine. Moreover, they would be relieved of great difficulty because the voters could come together from the two districts of Timucua and Guale (which they call *agua dulce* and *agua salada*) to the said convent of Guadalquini for they could go from one province to another in canoes. He resolved to make this plan effective and advised the governor of Florida of his intention. At the same time he asked the governor if he had any orders, *cédulas* or royal provisions from Your Majesty in reference to the missions and the conversion of the natives. If so, he should forward them so that the religious could comply with them in every respect throughout the land.

When he had attended to this, he departed with his

secretary from the convent of Timucua to that of San Juan de Guacara which is eight leagues distant. Having visited that town, he passed on to the guardianate of Santa Cruz de Tarihica, a place where five years before, when the friars of the province of Concepción came, there were not four Christian Indians, but now there were 712 living Christian Indians in this town alone. It is distant from Guacara, eight more leagues. He visited and made the examination in this town with more care because of the neophytes recently converted and found that they knew their doctrine and catechism. Moreover there were some Indian men and women who knew how to read and write, being already thirty or forty years of age. They have learned these things within four years. There he remained more days in order to preach to them on the rudiments of our Catholic faith and on the Sacraments.

Here he determined to take a short-cut that was arduous, by entering a desert and unpopulated district for fifty leagues in order to go to the convent of Santa Isabel de Utinahica,²² where the woods were closed with dense trees and chaparral. He passed through some towns inhabited by pagan Indians who received him with great joy and who showed a desire to become Christians.

They arrived at Tarraco²³ on the feast of St. Barbara and we [sic!] named the place Santa Barbara. After having taken leave of the Indians and having departed from them for the distance of about a league, a messenger came to ask the name of the saint they would have to employ in naming the town when they became Christians. In the meantime, [they were told] they would be given a Christian Indian who would teach them the doctrine and catechism. This was attended to and word was sent from here to a religious residing at Tari, notifying him that he should attend to this good work with much care, because of the good disposition of these pagan Indians who formed a fairly large district. Continuing our journey, we arrived at three or four small towns containing pagans. Although we were lacking food because it was Advent, the Lord provided us with a good gift of mushrooms

which we gathered on the road in order to sustain ourselves with them in the shelter we made for ourselves in order to rest and to protect ourselves from the severe colds and rains which fell upon us and which made us feel moist and drenched us even to our tunics and the documents [we carried with us]. Our Lord provided for us in these labors with much counsel and spirit until we set out for Santa Isabel, for we passed large rivers, which owing to their depth could not be forded; the only sort of bridge available was a large thick pine. The Indians who accompanied me, passed over this, running, like persons who had lost fear of those dangerous passages. I, after first going to confession, passed over in the name of the Lord, and in the name of holy obedience given by my superiors who placed the visitation and commission upon me.²⁴

Having visited the convent and the religious of Santa Isabel and having preached to the Indians and having examined them in doctrine, we descended by a larger river than the Tagus, in canoes, to the people of the land of Guale. We visited the towns and the six priests in the convent of San José de Zápalá²⁵ where [the Indians] had martyred one of our five martyrs.²⁶ The visitation was made, the chapter of faults, prayer and discipline were held, as in the other places referred to before. Days before we had dispatched the patent and letter of convocation to all the convents which had been visited. The father commissary and the father guardians who were in the land of Guale went to the house of the chapter where all the other fathers with a vote, the definitors and guardians, were already gathered.

We arrived late and after disembarking, all we religious went in procession with a large cross, singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*²⁷ as far as the church. There we gave thanks to our Lord that He joined us in His name to treat of things touching His service, while the religious consoled one another. Since the first time I visited this province, two years before, they had not seen one another very much, owing to the fact that they are divided and dispersed through widely separated

towns. We rested that night. On the following day we treated in definitorial session on the matters of the visitation; likewise, we held the chapter of faults. And in order that in a chapter so poor, religious and apostolic in spirit, there would be no unfortunate occurrence, and after everything ordered by the general statutes had been diligently attended to, he admitted, consoled and qualified the voters for the day determined for the election.

On the fourth Sunday of Advent, on the day of the Expectation of our Lady,²⁸ December 18, 1616, the father commissary sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost,²⁹ while the father definitors were deacon and sub-deacon³⁰ of the Mass. Then they gathered for the chapter. Fray Lorenzo Martínez, formerly master in Abrojo,³¹ preached. It was a spiritual discourse replete with the spirit of devotion. When this was over the father commissary, the president of the chapter, followed and exhorted all the fathers with a vote that they should elect them, whom, according to God, they should judge most fit to be provincial and definitors. His paternity named witnesses and a secretary, all three being approved persons. After a vote was taken, on the first ballot, Fray Francisco Pareja, senior definitor of the past three years, was elected. He had been working for the conversion of the Indians for the past twenty-two years with great fruit among them. They also elected four definitors canonically according to the command of the general statutes.

The father commissary, president of the chapter, ordered the cross, veil and candles to be brought forward; he intoned the *Te Deum Laudamus*, and ordered the procession to take place. The first place he gave to the newly elected father provincial; the next place to the newly elected definitors, and after that came the definitors of the past three years and finally the other members of the chapter according to age. All this was done with grace and promptitude. They went to the church in procession and when the *Te Deum Laudamus* was finished, the father commissary and president ordered the faults to be proclaimed before the provincial and

the newly elected definitors. He confirmed the provincial and the others setting forth in a short discourse the testament of David to Solomon wherein the former recommended the punishment of Joab and Semei³² and that he should have seated at his table those who were faithful and loyal friends. He exhorted father provincial that he should admit to the table of offices and honors the good and the worthy, and those who are not such, he should have the courage to punish.

And in order that they could be dispatched to their missions before Christmas, his paternity ordered that they should gather immediately in definitorial session to apportion the offices of guardians; also that the other voters should gather for a discretorial meeting.³³ These latter were to propose what seemed fitting with regard to the statutes and ordinances of the province. This they did and presented their deliberations to the definitorium for consultation.

So the schedule and the statutes of the province were finished in four days. And because the chapter was close to the general chapter, in which there had to be an election of a *custodio* according to the general statute of Barcelona and Toledo, his paternity ordered that they should proceed to the election of such a *custodio*. Fray Lorenzo Martínez, a religious of great merit, was elected. In this office he was confirmed.

That this is true we affirm with our names in order that all that was done and ordained in the provincial chapter might appear to our Most Reverend Fathers, the Vicar-General of the whole Order and the Commissary-General of all the Indies.

Fray Luís Gerónimo de Oré, Commissary of Florida.

Fray Francisco Pareja, Minister Provincial.

Fray Lorenzo Martínez.

Fray Bartolomé Romero.

Fray Juan de la Cruz.

Fray Alonso Pesquera.

Fray Francisco Alonso de Jesús.

Fray Pedro Ruíz.

NOTES

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¹The decree of the commissary-general is extant, in (A. G. I. 53-2-10) F. S. H. S. phot. The commission was signed June 12, 1614.

²This chapter then is the first provincial chapter ever held by Franciscans within the present limits of the United States.

³Governor Triviño de Guillamas ruled 1613-1618.

⁴Franciscans are forbidden to ride horseback except in case of "manifest necessity or infirmity." (Rule of St. Francis). In this case Father Oré would have been entitled to use a horse for the laborious journey, for it was a case of "manifest necessity." But like Fray Junipero Serra of later California fame, he preferred not to make use of his privilege.

⁵The St. Johns River, otherwise known as the Río de Tocoy or the Río de San Mateo.

⁶The same distance is given in the *Nota de las misiones de la provincia de la Florida* (1655). There the name of the town is spelled Nacape. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, p. 133.

⁷Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians*, p. 323, locates "Abino" as forty leagues inland from St. Augustine. There is no indication as to whether it lay to the west or southwest. Father Oré in speaking of the De Soto expedition writes that the conqueror passed through the provinces of Acuera and Avino and then Apalache. Acuera was southwest of St. Augustine. Corroboratory evidence for this statement is the fact that Father Oré called the guardian of Avino to meet him at Enacape, an indication of Avino's general location. If Avino had been in the direction of Timucua or Apalache, the guardian of Avino would doubtless have been called to meet Father Oré at San Martín de Timucua or other missions further west, as was done in the case of the missionaries residing in that area. Enacape was twenty leagues

from St. Augustine. In 1655 there was a mission at Acuera described as thirty-six leagues from St. Augustine. The mention in one breath of Acuera and Avino by Father Oré, as well as his action in calling the guardian of Avino to Enacape, together with the existence in later times of the mission San Luís de Acuera, all point to the mission's location as south-west of St. Augustine at a distance of from thirty-six to forty leagues.

⁸A disciplinary practice in religious communities where the religious publicly acknowledge some fault (not a sin), for which the superior gives a slight penance.

⁹Suffrages, or *suffragia*, are additional prayers for a specified purpose.

¹⁰Small cylindrical containers in which the holy oils are kept. The purpose of the inspection of the oil-stocks and baptismal font is to see that the water and oil which are blessed are kept clean in keeping with the sacred use for which they are destined.

¹¹This saved the bishop a special trip to Florida. Since Father Oré represented the minister-general in making the tour of the province, he could easily fulfill the obligations imposed on him as representative of the bishop for all the parishes and missions in Florida, save the city parish of St. Augustine, were under the care of Franciscan friars. The parish records of St. Augustine likewise state that Father Oré represented the bishop of Cuba. *Libro I de Baptismos, Confirmaciones, Matrimonios, y Entierros hechos en la Parroquia de S. Agustín de la Florida*, Engelhardt Extracts, Santa Barbara Mission Archives, Old Mission, Santa Barbara.

¹²Apalo, between Enacape and Lake Orange.

¹³Very probably Lake Orange. Father Oré was on the way from Enacape to Potano and Apalache.

¹⁴Santa Fe de Teleco was thirty leagues from St. Augustine. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, p. 133.

¹⁵San Martín de Timucua called San Martín de Ayacouto in 1655 and thirty-four leagues from St. Augustine. *Ibid.*

¹⁶Mission San Francisco de Potano, twenty-five leagues from St. Augustine. *Ibid.*

¹⁷Probably Mission Santa Cruz de Tarica in 1655 mentioned as fifty-four leagues from St. Augustine. *Ibid.*, 132.

¹⁸Eight leagues further from San Martín de Ayacouto, hence forty-two leagues from St. Augustine. *Vide* note 15 and text of Father Oré.

¹⁹Teleco, namely Mission Sante Fe de Teleco. *Vide* note 14.

²⁰Cofa is mentioned by Garcilaso de la Vega as a province beyond Apalache. However by 1616 regular mission establishments had not been founded in Apalache, though friars visited that country from time to time. It is not clear in what area Father Oré places Cofa. *Vide La Florida del Inca*, 112 *et seq.*

²¹Guadalquini with its variants Boadalquivi, Gualquini, etc., was thirty-two leagues north of St. Augustine. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, p. 132.

²²No available lists give a mission of Santa Isabel de Utinahica. Clearly Father Oré left the confines of Apalache, took a short-cut to Utinahica somewhere in the direction of Guale. The land through which he passed was largely unpopulated and intersected by unfordable streams. From Utinahica he descended a large river "larger than the Tagus . . . to the people of the land of Guale." Hence Utinahica may be placed tentatively along the St. Marys or the Saltillo River. If the St. Johns had been meant Father Oré most probably would have mentioned the fact that it was the same river whose course he followed when he started his visitation. In the first case he called it the Río de Tocoy. Here he merely describes a large river but gives it no name. The last station Father Oré visited in western Florida before he left for Utinahica, was Santa Cruz de Tarihica, fifty leagues from St. Augustine. Again on leaving Utinahica he descended a large river that took him to the land of Guale. By going from Santa Cruz de Tarihica in a direct line to Utinahica in the direction of Guale, he could have reached the banks of either

the St. Marys or the Saltilla by travelling the distance of fifty leagues which Father Oré gives as the distance between the two places.

²³Tarraco, on the way between Tarihica and Utinahica.

²⁴Evidently Father Oré was not a swimmer. This incident is quite frankly told and lends a human touch to the story.

²⁵Mission San José de Zápala was forty-five leagues from St. Augustine. Serrano y Sanz, *Documentos históricos*, p. 132.

²⁶This island, Sapelo, is opposite Tolomato, where Father Corpa was martyred.

²⁷The *Te Deum Laudamus* or hymn of praise by St. Ambrose is sung on all joyful occasions.

²⁸This feast is no longer celebrated. It was kept to honor the expectant Mother of Christ. Christmas, the birthday of Christ, is observed on the 25th.

²⁹The Mass of the Holy Ghost is said at times when heavenly enlightenment is sought for the happy solution of earthly affairs. The Holy Ghost, the Third Person of the Blessed Trinity, is invoked as the fountain of wisdom, understanding, counsel and knowledge.

³⁰The deacon is the chief assistant to the celebrant in a solemn high Mass. The sub-deacon is the next in rank.

³¹El Abrojo, Spain, whence Fray Lorenzo Martínez left for Florida.

³²III Kings, ii, 5-9.

³³This discretorial meeting was of an advisory character and subordinate to the definitorial meeting.

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